# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-88-186* *26 September 1988*

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## Perfilyev on Western Anti-Afghan 'Propaganda'

*LD2409125588 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

The Western mass media is going on with a propaganda campaign of accusing Afghanistan of the violation of the air space of Pakistan and bombing Pakistani territory. Similar 'accusations' without any evidence to prove them were put forward on September 3, 5, 7 and 12. On September 23 the France Inter broadcasting station reported without reference to any sources an air raid against two populated localities in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan as a result of which 5 civilians were allegedly killed and six wounded. On September 24 this "piece of information" was repeated by the Voice of America broadcasting station.

In this connection Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pointed out in a TASS interview that the report on the air raid had been refuted by Major General Abdul Fattah Rahimi, commander of the Air Force of Afghanistan, who stated that on September 23 Afghan planes had not violated the air space of Pakistan either following an order or by accident.

"It is obvious that a campaign of false accusations against Afghanistan connected with its alleged violation of the air space of Pakistan, launched at the time when the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly is starting its work in New York and is going to discuss the so-called 'Afghan problem' included in its agenda, is of coordinated nature. Its organizers obviously intended it to be used as a cover-up for a further escalation of aggressive actions of Pakistan against the Republic of Afghanistan", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out.

## Atomic Energy Conference Ends in Vienna 23 Sep

### 'Important Resolutions' Adopted

*LD2309222888 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Vienna September 24 TASS—TASS correspondent Viktor Tumanov reports:

The 32nd session of the general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency ended in the Vienna "Austria" Congress Centre on September 23. The session was attended by over 700 delegates from more than 90 countries, including the USSR, Belorussia and the Ukraine.

The session focussed on questions having to do with the further strengthening of the international regime for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, measures to ensure the security of nuclear power plants. The session has shown that most delegations wished to see the agency strengthened, preserving a businesslike atmosphere in it, permitting constructive solution of questions of control over the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, implementation of the comprehensive programme of international cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Important resolutions have been adopted, which contribute to a practical implementation of the programme, tabled by the Soviet Union in 1986, for the creation of an international regime for a safe development of nuclear energy. The session approved, on the initiative of the socialist countries, a resolution providing for a more vigorous IAEA activity in the matter of setting up an international regime of responsibility for damage done by nuclear accidents. A resolution condemning all types of disposal of radioactive waste which violates the sovereignty of states, poses a threat to environment or human health, contains an appeal to the agency to work out a code of practice for international transactions connected with nuclear waste.

The discussion of resolutions on the nuclear potentials of South Africa and Israel caused acrimonious debate at the session. The USA and some of its allies opposed the adoption of these resolutions. It was pointed out that the acquisition by the racist South African regime of a nuclear potential poses a serious threat to peace and international security, increases the threat of proliferation of nuclear weapons. Some delegations demanded the implementation of a recommendation on the suspension of the rights and privileges of South Africa as an agency member, adopted a year ago by the IAEA governing council. However most states, including the Soviet Union favoured the preservation of South Africa's membership in the IAEA so as to force Pretoria to abide by the resolutions of the general conference. It was decided to examine the recommendation of the governing council with respect to South Africa and to take a decision on it at a regular session of the IAEA general conference.

The general conference resolutely denounced the stubborn reluctance of Israel to give up possession of nuclear weapons and to put all its nuclear facilities under the the agency's safeguards. The session requested the IAEA director general to prepare a technical study of the feasibility of applying the agency's safeguards in the Middle East. This decision is regarded by many delegations as an important step toward the adoption of practical measures contributing to the creation of a nuclear free zone in the region, as progress in the matter of ensuring control over the nuclear activities of Israel.

It was decided to consider the question of the nuclear threat posed by South Africa and Israel, and of their nuclear potentials, at a regular, 33rd session of the IAEA general conference.

### Delegate Protsenko's Remarks

*LD2309164888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Vienna, 23 Sep (TASS)—A news conference has been held by the Soviet delegation, headed by Aleksandr Protsenko, chairman of the State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, at the 32nd session of the general conference of the international Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which ended today in the "Austria" Congress Center.

One of the essential conditions for consistent advance along the road of nuclear disarmament, the news conference noted, is a strengthening of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The treaty has become an important factor in international security and strategic stability. However, such countries as the RSA and Israel remain outside its framework thus far. The Soviet Union roundly condemns the nuclear ambitions of these countries and states that their adherence to the treaty is of the nature of an unconditional imperative.

At a special session of the general conference in 1986, the Soviet Union submitted a long-term program of cooperation in setting up international conditions for the safe development of nuclear power for consideration. Many of the points in the program have already been effected, for example conventions on prompt notification of nuclear accidents and on assistance in the event of a nuclear accident or emergency radiation situation have been worked out and have come into force. Also under discussion are such proposals as developing [sozdaniye] enhanced security reactors, averting terrorist acts against nuclear installations, creating an international regime of state accountability for nuclear damage, and others.

Answering journalists' questions, the Soviet delegation head noted that the accident at the Chernobyl AES, as well as accidents at foreign atomic power stations, have necessitated a critical analysis of safety provision in atomic power engineering. A large package of measures is being introduced in the USSR to enhance the reliability and safety of work at atomic power stations, provide all-round training for operating personnel, and create enhanced safety nuclear power generating reactors. By the year 2000 the contribution by nuclear power to meeting the needs of the national economy will amount to 20 percent.

## UN General Assembly Begins Discussion 26 Sep

### Petrovskiy on 'Impressive' Agenda

*LD2309204688 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] New York September 23 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The United Nations General Assembly adopted today the agenda for its 43rd session. The agenda contains 149 items covering a very broad range of problems and tasks of today's interdependent world. This regular session is to examine, among other things, the whole set of problems of ensuring international peace and security, disarmament, settlement of regional conflicts, socio-economic development, decolonisation, ecology, protection of human rights and the assertion of norms of international law in interstate relations.

Commenting on the agenda of the session in an interview with the TASS correspondent, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said that the agenda was impressive by both the number of its items and their contents. As always, there is a prevalence of items pertaining to the shaping of comprehensive security in the military-political field. Many are the issues of disarmament and settlement of conflicts and crisis situations. Today, however, these questions have a novel aspect to them—there is now a possibility to transfer them into the realm of practical decisions, and for the United Nations to play its constructive role. In this respect, in the field of disarmament the beacon for action is the INF Treaty, and in the settlement of conflict and crisis situations, it is the political settlement in Afghanistan.

The agenda for this session contains a large set of new items pertaining to ecological security. And to me, the deputy head of the Soviet delegation at the session said, this is a reflection of the legitimate concern on the part of the U.N. member states over the deteriorating plight of ecology and the need for urgent measures to rectify the situation and to create conditions on our earth, which would be ecologically safe.

Yet another new element is that the agenda includes items which are gaining further development and which concern the strengthening of the U.N. role in today's world. And I have to note with satisfaction that the new elements that have appeared in the agenda of the General Assembly have largely been due to the initiatives submitted for consideration by the world community in Mikhail Gorbachev's article on "Reality and Guarantees of a Safe World", published by the newspaper PRAVDA on September 17 of last year.

### Gauging Members' Attitudes

*LD2509095788 Moscow TASS in English 0608 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[Text] New York September 25 TASS—The general political discussion starts at the 43d session of the U.N. General Assembly on Monday [26 September]. Heads of delegations of the member countries of the United Nations, which has a membership of 159 states, will set out the views of their governments on the most vital problems of our day. Representatives of 154 states stated their intention to take part in the three-week general discussion.

"I think that the general discussion will be important as some sort of litmus-paper, an indicator to gauge the attitude of states members of the international community to the ongoing process in the world," Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy head of the Soviet delegation at the session, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, told TASS. "We hope that the discussion of international issues will make it possible to consolidate the turn for the better which has taken shape in international affairs, to support the renovating process in the United Nations which started last year.

"Simultaneously with the general discussion, wide bilateral contacts are planned as usual. I can say that the head of the Soviet delegation already plans more than 40 meetings. This is also an important element in the development of interstate relations."

### U.S. Delays Visas for Nicaraguans

*LD2409163988 Moscow TASS in English 2252 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] New York September 24 TASS—The U.N. Committee on Relations With the Host Country held a meeting on Friday to consider U.S. attempts to hinder the normal participation of Nicaragua in the work of the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The statement made by the U.S. delegate at the meeting has shown that Washington, using a formal pretext, delayed the issue of visas to some members of the Nicaraguan delegation. Such actions prevented Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega from coming to attend the session.

Speaking on behalf of all the members of the Committee on Relations With the Host Country, its chairman Konstantin Mouskhautus expressed regret over the fact that the Nicaraguan president was forced to cancel his visit to the session. He pointed out the U.S. commitment, based on agreement with the United Nations, to issue visas to delegations of U.N. member states in the briefest time possible. The chairman's statement contained an appeal to the United States to speed up the issue of visas to the Nicaraguan delegation.

The U.S. actions, Alejandro Cerrano Caldera, Nicaragua's chief delegate at the United Nations said, run counter to the provisions of the agreement between the United Nations and the host state. Hiding behind the procedural questions, the U.S. State Department actually prevented Nicaragua from participating in the work of the session, he said.

### Petrovskiy on All-World People's Movement

*LD2509110188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0602 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Excerpts] New York, 24 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov reports: A very important task of the world today is to review the conceptions of how to ensure international security—so runs the declaration of the all-world meeting of peoples which finished here on Friday. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who spoke at the meeting, noted in a conversation with the TASS correspondent that "the great march for peace movement has become an influential public force and has assumed a widely international character." "At such meetings one notices with satisfaction," he said, "that the political positions that the Soviet Union now maintains in international affairs enjoy wide public support throughout the world." "The concept of the United Nations presupposes that public organizations must participate, together with governments, in actively supporting efforts to maintain international peace and security. The idea that the holding of an assembly of the peoples of the world within these walls should become a tradition, merits support," the deputy head of the Soviet delegation at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly indicated. The present forum has demonstrated the persistent striving of the people of the planet to step into the 21st century without nuclear, chemical or other weapons of mass destruction, and with certainty about a peaceful future for succeeding generations.

## Global Antiwar Organizations Meet in Moscow

### 'Positive Shifts' Noted

*LD2309194788 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—The people's diplomacy becomes an efficient factor in the work for peace, complementing efforts by professional politicians and diplomats. This is confirmed by a discussion begun today within the framework of the annual international information meeting of representatives of anti-war organisations and movements from 40 countries, which opened here.

"The positive shifts in Soviet-American relations, that have occurred in recent years, became possible largely thanks to the vigorous activity of both countries' people's diplomats", said Howard Frazier, U.S.A., director of the public organisation, promoting enduring peace. He recalled that there had been three peace walks across the United States and Soviet territories since 1987, whose participants could meet and exchange views with tens of thousands of ordinary Soviet and American citizens. Joint peace cruises along the Mississippi, Volga and Dnieper Rivers also promoted greater mutual understanding and trust.

Adding to what his countryman said, Father Dolan, a Catholic priest from the United States, representing the Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, said that it was expedient to foster closer contacts between representatives of various segments of the two countries' population, specifically, among men of religion. Direct ties between various U.S. and Soviet cities are likewise promising, in his view.

At the same time, speakers at the debate noted that the efforts by Soviet and American peace campaigners were not enough today—the public of other countries should be drawn on a broader scale in anti-war actions. This was mentioned, in part, by Eva Norland, a representataive of the Norwegian organisation, The Alternative Future. She said children showed adults an example of concerted actions in the work for military and ecological security: Young ambassadors of peace tour all continents collecting signatures to anti-war appeals addressed to the leaders of the nuclear powers.

### Arbatov Delivers Address

*LD2309201588 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—"Restructuring and openness in the USSR have made it possible in international relations to pass over to a businesslike and constructive dialogue and to achieve mutually-acceptable solutions," said Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He addressed an international information meeting of representatives of anti-war organizations and movements from 40 countries, which opened here today.

The academician said that for decades the USSR attached an overly great importance to military means of ensuring security. This approach has been revised in recent years. For the first time, faced with the U.S. plans to develop the SDI programme, the Soviet side said it would not repeat past errors by allowing itself to be drawn into the arms race being foisted on it, but would come up with an asymmetrical response.

Among the chief tasks of the anti-war movement, Academician Arbatov mentioned demilitarisation of human society and democratisation of the international relations. The arms race, he said, has become an impermissible luxury for any country, preventing as it does the solution of acute social and economic problems. The academician said he disagreed with those holding that improved relations between the USSR and the USA, whose peoples account for a mere ten percent of the earth's population, would guarantee stability and international security. Securing peace on earth, he said, requires the efforts of all states. In this connection Georgiy Arbatov said he favoured increased authority for the United Nations and a greater say for public opinion in dealing with major international issues.

Referring to reliance on "nuclear deterrence" which the leaders of some of the Western countries do not wish to relinquish, the Soviet academician said this approach was now obsolete. It provided a loophole for irresponsible solutions and for the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world.

### Delegation Head Voss Addresses IPU Meeting

*LD2309223888 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Sofia September 23 TASS—The 80th conference of the Interparliamentary Union here is continuing businesslike debates on pressing issues of state-to-state relations and on political, economic and social problems affecting the interests of all countries.

The leader of the Soviet delegation, Avgust Voss, said the conference has gathered at a time when the world is looking for answers to the burning, difficult questions of how to ensure mankind's survival.

After pointing to the importance of the INF Treaty, Voss, who is chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, one of the two houses in the Soviet parliament, said the USSR sees the treaty's signature as a first step to realizing a program for a phase-by-phase elimination of nuclear weapons by century's end.

He identified an agreement halving Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms, a general and complete ban on nuclear weapons testing and a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and their destruction as the top priorities in this respect.

Voss pointed also to the important role played by Europe in international affairs. "The Soviet Union believes," he said, "that the creation of a European war risk reduction center as a venue for cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty could be a tangible contribution to detente in the continent."

The leader of the Soviet delegation called for a constructive approach to settling regional conflicts, describing the agreements on Afghanistan as an example to emulate.

"In order to remove existing hotbeds of tension and prevent any further ones, dialogue must prevail over confrontation," Voss continued.

He stressed the need to introduce elements of balance, stability and predictability in the world economy so as to settle the problem of developing nations' foreign debt and other acute international economic security.

"In our practical activities we shall continue searching for ways to lasting peace and international cooperation. Glasnost (openness) and perestroyka (restructuring) are lending material persuasiveness to our foreign policy ideas and initiatives," he said.

### Deputy Moldobayev Speaks

*PM2609085588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Parliamentarians' Conference"]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep—The 80th Interparliamentary Union Conference continued its work in the People's Palace of Culture in the Bulgarian capital. Its participants discussed the question of parliaments' contribution to the fulfillment of the UN resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and the elimination of colonialism, racism, and apartheid.

The duty of parliamentarians is to strive for the freedom and independence of peoples languishing under the oppression of colonizers and racists and to demand their governments' support for national liberation movements, Cameroon representative Mary M. Fuda [name as published] declared. The only way to accelerate the process of decolonialization in Southern Africa, she stressed, is to introduce mandatory political and economic sanctions against the RSA.

All political parties in my country, Nicaragua's representative C. Chavez noted, consider that apartheid is an unnatural phenomenon. Like other speakers, he sharply condemned Tel Aviv's repressions against the population in occupied Arab territories.

The full implementation of the UN declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples would eliminate a series of factors which seriously complicate the international situation, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy K.M. Moldobayev declared. More than 20 colonial and semicolonial territories still exist in the world. Furthermore, neocolonialism strives to take advantage of the famine, poverty, and economic backwardness in these countries to perpetuate their bondage. The main reason why the UN resolution on decolonialization has not been implemented is that the preservation of colonialism suits the economic, political, and military-strategic interests of imperialist powers, the speaker noted.

The manifestations of racism, apartheid, and national oppression were subjected to sharp criticism by parliamentarians from Tunisia, Cuba, Venezuela, Canada, Iran, and Hungary in their speeches.

### 'Observers Roundtable': UN Role; Krasnoyarsk

*LD2509190588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Sep 88*

["International Observers Roundtable" program, presented by Nikolay Agayants, with All-Union Radio foreign political commentator Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov and TASS political observer Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov]

[Text] [Agayants] Well, and now down to business. On 20 September the 43d session of the UN General Assembly opened in New York. There are now 159 states of the world which are members. The General Committee had recommended for inclusion in its agenda 149 points. They embrace the whole gamut of problems of today's interconnected world, and offer the delegates an opportunity to discuss the key methods of strengthening the positive trends that have been a feature of the development of international relations over the last few years.

It is proposed that in the plenary sessions of the General Assembly and in its main committees, the discussion should include the entire complex of disarmament problems, and that the detailed dialogue on forming an all-embracing system of international security should be continued, including its political and military aspects, as well as the spheres of economic and ecological security. Another subject they'll be talking about in New York is enhancing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations itself, including its principle bodies. UN peacekeeping operations will be discussed.

[Kornilov] Let me add, Nikolay Ivanovich, that the delegates will be devoting a lot of attention to the collective search for ways of settling the numerous regional conflicts, and discussing the tense situation that regrettably still exists in many parts of our world.

[Andrianov] Incidentally, it can already be said that the 43d session of the UN General Assembly has gotten off to a successful and vigorous start. Thanks to the clear and unambiguous stance of the majority of the members of the world community, the United States and certain of its partners have had to give up their attempts to foist on the session a dubious and obviously confrontational discussion of the so-called Korean question, and have withdrawn their proposal to include in the agenda an item with the pretentious title: "The 40th Anniversary of the Formation of the Government of the Korean Republic." As a result, the delegates will discuss at one of the plenary sittings of the current session of the General Assembly a problem formulated as: Promoting Peace, Reconciliation, and Dialogue in the Korean Peninsula. That's a very symptomatic, positive change in approaches to the difficult issues that exist—a change that has been characteristic, in my view, of the work of the United Nations in recent years.

[Agayants] That is indeed so, Boris Vasiliyevich. UN activities now reflect, as in a mirror, our complex, contradictory, and changing world. Since the achievement of the Geneva agreements—the negotiations, as you remember, were conducted with UN mediation—and since the achievement of the cease-fire accords between Iran and Iraq and several other resolute and positive actions, the United Nations has gotten its second wind, as it were. There is a definite consolidation of the positions and influence of this international organization to be observed; and it's not fortuitous, I think, that this is thought to have something to do with the general improvement in the political climate in the world.

[Kornilov] Of interest in this connection are the reactions to the changes which are taking place in the world body on the part of the U.S. media, which have had no great affection for the United Nations since the United States lost its influence there some time ago and was deprived of the possibility of pushing through decisions which suited its purposes. For more than a decade—writes the influential U.S. weekly US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT—the United Nations took a back seat in world politics. But at the present time—the journal writes—its peacekeeping operations, in particular in maintaining the truce between Iran and Iraq, are becoming the chief mechanism for settling other regional conflicts also.

And here's another quotation, from another U.S. magazine, NEWSWEEK: The difficult time for the United Nations seems to be passing. Today, the United Nations is unexpectedly basking in glory.

[Agayants] Let us make no bones about it: The Americans are wringing these admissions from themselves with a heavy heart and altering the emphasis willy-nilly. In reality, after all, the growth of the role of the United Nations is not happening of its own accord, and it's not at all a matter of chance. It is, above all, the result of concrete actions by the states which make up the world body—primarily by the permanent members of the Security Council, the participants of the Nonaligned Movement and all those who are fully aware that the realities—I stress that, the realities—of our time dictate the need to be guided in untangling the very knotty problems of existing contradictions, not by narrowly selfish considerations, but by the higher interests of all mankind. International observers are noting today that the responsible work of the United Nations assumes special importance at the present crucial moment in international relations, when, by joint efforts, we're beginning to erect the edifice of a nonviolent, nuclear-free world and the new political thinking is becoming established.

[Andrianov] And the comment I would make is this: The 43d session of the UN General Assembly has begun work in a situation of noticeable positive changes on the international scene. The threat of a military clash involving the Great Powers has lessened. The Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow has shown a deepening of the political dialogue between the two countries in the framework of which the treaty to scrap intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was agreed on and has come into force. Albeit slowly, our positions on a number of aspects of the problem of reducing strategic offensive arms are coming closer together. Today, there are more realistic prospects for reducing conventional arms and armed forces in the Old World and creating a common European home; for limiting and stopping nuclear tests and destroying chemical and bacteriological weapons. And the package of Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and the ending of the long and senseless war between Iran and Iraq show clearly that on a footing of realism and responsibility, and given goodwill and patience, the most seemingly complex and tangled conflict can end in a peaceful political settlement.

[Agayants] It is relevant here to mention an article by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar which he wrote specially for our journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN and which appears in its latest issue, for September. On the role of the Soviet state in the work of the world body, Perez de Cuellar says, and I quote: As one of its founders, the Soviet Union has always played an active part in the United Nations. As a permanent member of the Security Council, it bears special responsibility for seeing that the principles of the UN Charter are respected. I believe, writes Peres de Cuellar, in the possibility of achieving substantial progress in the sphere of vital problems if we can succeed in realizing the full potential of the United Nations. There's no doubt that the Soviet Union will be able to continue to play an important role in that process.

[Andrianov] Well, and here you have to realize that that article was written before Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk in which he put forward exceedingly important new peace initiatives touching on a broad aspect of international problems. I'm convinced that these initiatives will be discussed at the present session of the UN General Assembly.

[Agayants] Certainly they will. Judging by the reactions that are coming in to our editorial office today from every corner of the globe, these initiatives are being analyzed and commented on by the foreign media and by public and political figures in various countries. The reactions to them are by no means uniform, and we'll be speaking about that in more detail later. But there's one aspect I'd like to dwell on particularly, and that is the proposal that we should set up, on the site of the radar station near Krasnoyarsk in Siberia, an international cooperation center for the peaceful use of space—thereby putting an end to all the apprehensions and doubts that exist in Washington. This proposal is so clear and indisputable that one might think there simply could not be any counterarguments.

[Kornilov] It would indeed seem so. But I have in front of me a speech made in the U.S. Congress by Senator Robert Byrd, who doesn't like our new initiative at all. Why? I'll quote him: There are a number of places where such a center could be set up, says the senator, that would be more convenient for the Western powers than Sibera.

[Andrianov] You know, that's a pretty odd argument. What we're talking about, after all, is what is to become of a particular radar station, and not where we should look for a site for some new international scientific facility.

[Kornilov] Of course it's a strange argument, Boris Vasiliyevich; but the senator pretends not to notice the obvious lack of connection, and assiduously scans the map to see whether the West wouldn't find it more convenient to set up a new international center, say, in New York—which has no Siberian frosts and is close to Washington, where Byrd himself sits in the Congress. Of course none of this makes the worthy senator's arguments any more convincing; but still, let us try to adopt his point of view, and take his words at face value. In Byrd's opinion, Soviet Siberia is an inconvenient place to build an international center. But no one, after all, is suggesting that just one such center can be built and that it can only be in Siberia. We know, for example, the serious concern that is being shown by both the Soviet and the international public regarding the building of a U.S. radar station in Britain. We also know that many experts are convinced that that radar station is a direct infringement of the ABM Treaty. And arising from this is an idea which we here at the "Roundtable" could put to the U.S. senator: If he's really standing guard over the treaty, why doesn't he advocate that the U.S. radar station should also be converted into another international center for peaceful space research? Let the scientists of the various countries decide for themselves where to conduct their research. I imagine some of them would commit themselves for that purpose to Siberia, which the senator says is inconvenient; others would go to Britain.

[Andrianov] Not a bad idea! But I'm afraid it wouldn't go down well in Washington.

[Agayants] I think that when we speak of the Krasnoyarsk package of Soviet initiatives, it's necessary to recall a meeting that was held this week at the Kremlin: The meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Vo Chi Cong, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam State Council. When the two of them were discussing international problems, the Vietnamese side expressed full support for the new Soviet initiatives set forth in Krasnoyarsk. Comrade Gorbachev noted that in our country, the efforts of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to bring about a healthier atmosphere in Southeast Asia and turn the region into a zone of peace, stability, security and cooperation are highly regarded. The participants of the meeting welcomed the signs of progress toward a Cambodian settlement.

[Kornilov] In my view, the progress on that issue is very symptomatic. It is one of the concrete encouraging proofs that the political atmosphere in Asia and the Pacific generally is changing. Not so long ago, after all, the prospects of steering the solution of the Cambodian question on to the path of negotiation looked highly problematic.

[Andrianov] There's no disputing that all that was so. But now it's quite evident how that the question of settling the situation surrounding Cambodia is being taken seriously and is advancing. Undoubtedly the credit for this belongs above all to the government of the young Republic: It has put forward the idea of national reconciliation, which has given a powerful boost to progress. In many respects, of course, that progress has been promoted by the goodwill of Vietnam and Cambodia, who have announced that a large military contingent of Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn from Cambodian soil before the end of this year.

[Agayants] That's only one aspect of the problem. And as the well-known saying goes, you cannot clap with just one hand. Therefore, we ought not to forget the leaders of the antigovernment forces and those who support them; without them things would still be at a standstill. To all appearance they have begun to realize how events are unfolding in Cambodia.

[Kornilov] Your observation is correct and I shall explain why. The initial outlines of a political settlement, let us recall, began to materialize when it became clear that the government in Phom Penh had strengthened sufficiently to independently guarantee the republic's security in the foreseeable future against the armed opposition detachments holed up in neighboring Thailand. That's the first point. Second, it has become just as clear that Vietnam is by no means engaging in propaganda when it declares that it intends to withdraw its contingents from Cambodia no later than the first quarter of 1990. When this withdrawal becomes fact the Cambodian problem in its present form will, naturally, cease to exist. And this means that many of the arguments currently used by the alliance of the three opposition groups will lose even a semblance of cogency.

[Andrianov] I think there's one more, fairly substantial, factor which we should keep in mind: the political atmosphere in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region is changing. An example of this can be seen in the obvious fact that the countries of that enormous region of our planet are displaying a desire to take part in solving regional conficts. This is surely indicated by the notable efforts being made by Indonesia and other ASEAN countries to bring forward a political settlement to the Cambodian conflict. You only have to think back to the informal meeting in Jakarta, which set an edifying example in this respect.

[Agayants] Many statesmen regarded that meeting as an important event. As you know, all the Cambodian sides took part in it, as well as representatives from Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN member-countries.

[Kornilov] In Jakarta a start was made on the consultations aimed at seeking ways of untying the Cambodian knot on the basis of a balance of interests. This has already been termed the Jakarta Process, and it must be said that it holds our prospects. As we can see, a start has been made.

[Andrianov] But that is by no means all. I would note the fact that all the participants in the Jakarta meeting, who have a sincere interest in finding a rapid solution to the Cambodian problem, reached a unanimous view on the two conditions essential for such a solution. The first of these is the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia, while the second condition consists in providing a simultaneous guarantee against Pol Pot's group seizing power in the country. I think everything's perfectly clear as far as the first condition is concerned: As we have already mentioned, the Vietnamese volunteers are to leave Cambodia completely no later than the first quarter of 1990. As for the second condition, it is fraught with serious problems. The thing is that there is a real danger of Pol Pot's so-called Khmer Rouge forming part of the opposition alliance and possessing its most powerful military forces. In addition, the Pol Potites are still pursuing their policy of violence and murder.

[Kornilov] All this provides fairly substantial grounds for thinking that the main obstacle on the road to settling the situation is the danger of the Pol Pot regime returning to power. The question of whether that danger can be avoided was answered by the participants in the Jakarta meeting. They believe it can be avoided as long as the Khmer Rouge remain merely a political and not a military force. Only in such circumstances could they take part in resolving the Cambodian problem. Well, for this it is essential, first and foremost, to stop supplying the Pol Potites with the arms and military hardware coming from the United States, China and other countries which support the Khmer Rouge.

[Andrianov] It ought to be noted that a considerable role in resolving the Cambodian problem will fall to the countries connected one way or another with the respective sides and groups in Cambodia. In this connection, I think it would be appropriate to recall the Soviet-Chinese working meeting on a settlement around Cambodia, which ended at the beginning of this month in Beijing. To some degree it expanded the zone of mutual understanding over the matter in question and more points of contact were created, though there are still differences. Given good will on both sides, however, these differences can be overcome. Hopes are raised in this respect by the important fact that the Soviet Union and China have started a serious dialogue on a Cambodian settlement, stating their readiness to do everything in their power to achieve a rapid and just solution to the problem by political means.

[Agayants] The more time that goes by since the day the Geneva Afghanistan agreements came into force, the more starkly highlighted become the differing and, moreover, largely diametrically opposite, standpoints from which the signatory states are approaching those most important documents. On the one hand we have the principled and consistent line taken by Afghanistan and the USSR, which was again confirmed most forthrightly just the other day at the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Afghan Prime Minister Mohammed Hasan Sharq, during the Soviet-Afghan talks in Moscow. The essence, or core, of that line is the strict, full, and precise implementation of the obligations in the Geneva package, which paves the way to a just settlement of the Afghan problem and vividly confirms the genuine possibility that, given the appropriate political good will, any regional conflict can, and consequently must, be extinguished.

[Kornilov] Incidentally, the results of those talks are fully in tune with the dominant political moods at the UN General Assembly, which we have already discussed today. In this connection, it would be apropos to recall the annual report by the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar on the organization's activities, which was published on the eve of the opening of the session. The document emphasizes that at the present time—I quote—opportunities of establishing peace in troubled regions have come quite clearly into view thanks to the efforts of the United Nations. And further—the conclusion of the Geneva agreements in April was a major step forward in ensuring a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

[Andrianov] The joint Soviet-Afghan report on the visit of Prime Minister Sharq to the USSR notes that the Geneva agreements not only made a qualitative change to the Afghan situation and directed its development along the positive channel of ending the bloodshed, but also represented an important event in the whole of international life from the point of view of establishing in it the principles of the new political thinking.

[Agayants] But that's one assessment, one approach. As we have already said, there is another as well, a blatantly opposite one.

[Kornilov] Yes. It is with growing concern that the international public is realizing again and again that the enemies of that settlement, based mainly in Islamabad, are continuing their policy of stepping up interference in the affairs of sovereign Afghanistan. Incidentally, this is shown convincingly by the fact brought together in a White Paper promulgated the other day in Kabul. They are following a course of wrecking the Geneva obligations. According to the Indian press, in particular, there are still more than 130 centers and bases on Pakistani territory training Afghan opposition fighters. In July alone more than 100 terror convoys and weapons consignments crossed the Pakistan-Afghanistan border and the irreconcilable elements for whom those weapons are destined are continuing their terrorist attacks in the aim of exacerbating the situation and wrecking the Kabul authorities' policy of national reconciliation.

And last week missiles launched by the extremists again came down on the districts populated by civilians in Kabul and other Afghan towns. And those in Pakistan who supply these extremists with arms, who incite them

to ever fresh acts of vandalism and violence, are continuing to assert that they are allegedly being true to the Geneva agreements. This is hypocrisy and pharisaism. There is no other way to describe such a statement.

[Agayants] The Geneva package, as we know, includes a declaration of international guarantees as well, in which it is underscored that the governments of the USSR and the United States undertake to strictly refrain from interference and intervention in any form in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. As has already been mentioned here, the Soviet Union is strictly fulfilling the obligations taken upon itself. But what about the United States? Washington has long regarded Pakistan as its own military and strategic bridgehead in Asia. And the message of President Reagan that he is reported to have sent to the Pakistani president a few days ago is evidence of the fact that the U.S. Administration intends to continue to take the same stand as it did before. The United States has already spent approximately $2 billion on waging the undeclared war in Afghanistan. And today those outlays are not only failing to be reduced, but are, on the contrary, growing. The policy bent on stepping up interference in Afghan affairs is also being backed up by appropriate propaganda. It has got to such a point that even the U.S. President himself, in his message, became a party to the the ill-intentioned, utterly spurious sensation being blown up in Pakistan and the West around imaginary violations of Pakistani airspace by the Afghan Air Force.

[Andrianov] I think we should make a special point of talking about those inventions. What attracts one's attention here? Although the fabrications about bombings of Pakistan territory have been exposed and refuted most emphatically, both during the Soviet-Afghan talks that took place in Moscow and by the official spokesman of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry, they keep on being reiterated over and over again. What for? What is the purpose of it? It looks as if it is not just a question of attempting to cover up one's own acts of interference in Afghan internal affairs, by appealing to those false statements. It looks as if someone in Islamabad—yes, and not only there—would like to make use of those false statements as a pretext for preparing fresh, even more serious provocations against sovereign Afghanistan. Could it not be that the opponents of the Geneva agreements are hatching the adventurist and—above all for Pakistan itself—extremely dangerous idea of making an air strike on targets in Afghan territory by way of an act of retribution? Some international observers are asking themselves this question. In either event, those who are keen on taking risks should bear in mind that both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, while strictly observing the Geneva agreements, are at the same time ready to make a fitting response to any sorties and provocations, which will in the end inevitably rebound against those very people who arranged them.

[Kornilov] We have every ground today for talking about the intrigues of the enemies of a settlement, but I think, in order to get a complete and objective picture, we should mention something else as well. In spite of all that underhand plotting, Afghanistan and its armed forces, the patriots of that country, are successfully repelling sudden attacks from without. The policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by Kabul is gaining in strength despite the embittered opposition of the extremists and those who are backing them up. This was, incidentally, quite definitely underlined during the visit of the Afghan prime minister to Moscow, too. Moreover, as was noted, the success of the policy of national reconciliation does at the same time signify the strengthening of the position of Afghanistan as a neutral, nonaligned, independent state, a worthy member of the Nonaligned Movement as well.

[Agayants] In bringing the subject of Afghanistan to an end, I would remind you of the principle-based important conclusion which was recorded at the meeting of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with Mohammad Sharq. This conclusion states: The fundamental significance of the Geneva agreements for the development of positive tendencies throughout the world is universally accepted. And today one judges the quality of a state's politics by its attitude to the Geneva agreements. And to an even greater extent one judges by it the politics of those who signed the agreements. If one applies this criterion to Islamabad and Washington, one must openly say that in both those capitals an unworthy and extremely dangerous game is being played around the Afghan problem. It is a dangerous game for the cause of peace in Asia and for Pakistan which is known to be undergoing a complicated and crucial period in its history at present.

In concluding of our program I would like to tell you about another very important event. At the end of last week, as you know, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign affairs minister, paid a visit to Washington. His meetings with George Shultz, Vice President Bush, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, and the Soviet-U.S. talks that took place in the U.S. capital, have become proof of the fact that the dialogue between our states is continuing. And this is, without any doubt, not only in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and the United States, but of the whole world.

On this note we end our program. Thank you, comrades, for your attention. All the very best to you.

### 'Top Priority' Discusses Gorbachev Speech

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["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to "Top Priority." I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, and together with me in the studio are our

usual guests, Drs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. And the topic for today's discussion is the seven-point peace plan for Asia and the Pacific put foward by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk, Siberia. And let us take a look both at his speech and some of the reactions to it in the countries of the region. So, to begin with I'd like one of you to, for the benefit of our listeners, to enumerate or to single out the most important points of that plan.

[Bogdanov] But before we do that, I would like to...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Dr Bogdanov.

[Bogdanov, continuing] ...point out to our listeners over there that to my mind the main, main, the reason of the trip to Krasnoyarsk was not the peace plan; it was rather, rather our domestic problems. And you have just a very interesting combination of both. But I still believe that; and we should talk a little bit about our domestic points that have been raised in Krasnoyarsk, and the peace plan, the peace plan. Well, we heard for a very long time from the Western quarters that, look, after Vladivostok speech...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] In July 1986.

[Bogdanov, continuing] ...in July, yeah... why you stopped? Why you are not moving ahead with the exact details of the plan for the settlement in the Pacific? Now you have it. Seven points. Sergey, I believe you are ready to enumerate them [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] Sergey, excuse me, but the first proposal to lower tensions in the area, Asia and the Pacific, was indeed contained in the speech in Vladivostok in July 1986; but we also should not forget that there was an interview with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] MERDEKA, yeah, yeah.

[Kuznetsov] Where Mikhail Gorbachev followed up on his Vladivostok speech. Okay.

[Bogdanov] This is, this is the further development of already existing plan laid down in Vladivostok and in interview to MERDEKA, you agree with that?

[Kuznetsov] That's right.

[Plekhanov] But there was also the Delhi declaration signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi which also enumerated certain points.

[Boganov] Then let's put it that way: There are three pillars of the Pacific settlement plan: One is Dehli declaration, the other one is Vladivostok statement and interview to Indonesian MERDEKA. Do you agree with me?

[Kuznetsov] All right. Now let's get down to the Krasnoyarsk speech, Sergey. Some of the points it...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Yes, in Krasnoyarsk Mikhail Gorbachev made seven specific suggestions as to how to improve security, how to build a new security system in the Pacific and Asian region. Number one, he announced that the Soviet Union has decided not to build up, not to increase the number of its nuclear weapons in the area and it's urging the United States and other nuclear powers to do likewise, to freeze the nuclear potentials in this area. Secondly, he offered to start consultations, international consultaitons between the major naval powers in Asia and Pacific, on not building up the naval forces in the area: freezing the existing levels. Third, more specifically, in the area—which is especially sensitive because the territories of several Pacific nations come very close to each other, the Soviet Union, Japan, the People's Republic of China, North Korea, and South Korea in that area—he suggested that the existing levels of naval and air forces be frozen and talks should be started on limiting their activity, reducing their activity. Fourth...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Excuse me. Was the proposal to put the controversial Krasnoyarsk radar station or facility under international control part of this plan or does it stand separately from the points concerning [words indistinct]?

[Plekhanov] Well, it's a specific technical point I would say; and of course Krasnoyarsk is in Asia and therefore it belongs to the Asian context, but of course the main context is Soviet-U.S. arms negotiations. Of course, that attracted the most attention—his suggestion, his announcement that the Soviet Union is prepared to, to turn the Krasnoyarsk radar—which is by the way an unfinished radar there is mostly a building there, an empty shell, the facility has not been built yet, it has not been completed—but he suggested that the Soviet Union will turn it into an international space research center which would amount to the elimination of the point which has, sore point which has made, has been turned into a stumbling bloc by the intransigent position of the United States, which has been maintaining that the Krasnoyarsk radar is in violation of the ABM Treaty, which we do not agree with.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, Washington has just stopped short of calling it a material breach of the ABM Treaty, which would have allowed it to abrogate it.

[Plekhanov] Well, that was a wise step on behalf of Washington because serious observers which have studied the problem certain disagree with the idea that this is a material breach.

[Kuznetsov] Ah, Dr Bogdanov, we've enumerated three of the seven points. Would you like to add something to, ah, instead of enumerating all of them, I think this is of interest to experts and perhaps some people who have some knowledge of arms control and regional conflicts...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Especially, by the way, that we are talking, we are communicating with our listeners over the Atlantic. I mean most of our listeners are on the eastern seaboard of the United States and we sit in Europe. [laughs]

[Kuznetsov] No, no, no, no. You don't know about our operations; the west coast is also covered by our program, I hope, so we communicate both across the Atlantic and across the Pacific so, we belong to this [word indistinct].

[Plekhanov] All right.

[Kuznetsov] What is in your view the most important, the key proposal?

[Bogdanov] The key proposal is the proposal itself, let me put it that way.

[Kuznetsov] The plan, the plan itself.

[Bogdanov] The plan itself. You know why, because you may have and you have a different reaction to those points. You have different reaction to different...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Yeah, we're coming to the reaction.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, but what I mean, you may have disagreements, and we have plenty of disagreement. You have agreements, and you have plenty of agreements, but what the most important part of that—the proposal itself. We start to move, we start to move. Now, my difficulty, Pavel, to mention the most important point, because it all depends on the country we are talking about, about. For instance, you take Philippines.

[Kuznetsov] The Philippines.

[Bogdanov] Subic, big Subic Bay base.

[Kuznetsov] And the Clark Air Force Base.

[Bogdanov] And Clark, yeah, base; that is the most important part of the seven proposals for them, but not for somebody else. For instance...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] No. You mean our proposal, another point, to give up a Soviet material, ah [words indistinct] (?our) facility or base in Cam Ranh for the shutting down of the American bases in the Philippines. That's another crucial point of the plan.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, crucial point. Some people, and I belong to that people, may say that the most important part is navy side of these proposals, because Pacific is a huge area, blue water area; when you have two fleets moving around not two...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Several fleets.

[Bogdanov] A number, several fleets moving around with the nuclear weapons, I believe with the nuclear weapons, and for the, maybe for the first time you have such a concrete precise proposal what to do with the navy threat. Let me put it that way—not just navy, but navy threat. This is may be the most important part of the proposal. But still you have a number of proposals, you have a menu, if you like, of proposals, and they take into consideration the overall interests of the countries belonging to that Pacific area. That, I believe, also is very important part of this...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Now, let's look at some of the reactions. In my view, they range from positively cautious to downright negative. Say, on the positive side, we have some comments from the Philippines praising any superpower move toward lesser tensions in the area and, on the negative side, for example, we're being smiled at in Japan and especially in the United States for, as they say, for not taking into account the balance of forces, the balance of power in the region, and also for trying to trade nothing for everthing. By nothing they mean our Soviet base in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam, and by everything they mean the two American bases in the Philippines. Now, the answer they give, the crux of the matter from their point of view is: no thank you, we're not going to trade it. Now, ah, what is your reaction to...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Well, I think that that was, quote something to be expected, but the interesting thing is that for years our facility in Cam Ranh Bay has served for hawkish American politicians and experts as a rationale for the increase of the American naval activities in the area and as a justification for the Japanese military build up. It was seen as a terrible threat, the fact that the Soviet Union has a facility there which used to belong to the United States before 1975. Now that we are prepared to give up that facility they say: oh no, well, this is just a small, small fry. I mean it doesn't count. Or maybe they are thinking that we should give up Cam Ranh and they should stay at Subic Bay and Clark field. Now that would be something for nothing.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, if you look at Drew Middleton's article in THE NEW YORK TIMES about the problem you'll be really amazed because he hints that the Soviet Union—it's nothing, Cam Ranh, because the Soviet Union has Vladivostok, Nakhodka, and [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] Yeah.

[Plekhanov] Yeah.

[Bogdanov] And so he hints, if he gives up those bases then, then we may think to exchange for something.

[Plekhanov] I guess, I guess if we, if we had agreed to that kind of proposal tomorrow there will be the next proposal that we give up Siberia, sell it to the United States or just, you know... [laughter].

[Kuznetsov] Another question is this: I was thinking about whether the American rather cool, or if you wish negative, reaction to the proposal, to the Soviet proposal about the military bases could be explained by the fact that we kind of stepped on their toes in the sense that, for the United States, which is a major maritime power, the navy, having a strong and very powerful navy is a top foreign policy and military priority. Perhaps...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Yeah, it's not just the navy, it also the special role the Pacific, the Pacific Ocean has played in American history and the American psyche if you will [words indistinct]. I mean, the Americans, when they conquered the continent and they continued to expand westward, and they saw the Pacific basin as a kind of a natural appendage to the American continent; before they began to expand in the Atlantic and created the Atlantic alliance, they were pretty well established in the Pacific. So, there is a tradition of viewing the Pacific Ocean as a kind of a home lake for the United States and viewing China as a kind of a, you know, benighted semicolony which should be civilized by the American presence. The war over the PHilippines was ostensibly fought by the United States in order to civilize the Filipinos and so on.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, my point is that if you look at the Pacific area as another area of balance of power it's okay, I agree with the Armenians. But what we suggest as, what is the base of our proposals, it's rather balance of interests.

[Plekhanov] Absolutely.

[Bogdanov] And let's look at Pacific area from now on not as a area of confrontation but as a area of balance of interests. And to balance our interests just exactly you have the seven points which help a lot to do that.

[Plekhanov] That's right. In fact, one has to accept the new reality in the Pacific, it is the fastest growing, economically the fastest growing area, but it is a very, very complex multilateral kind of a system and there is no way that the United States can regain...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Or the Soviet Union [words indistinct].

[Plekhanov] the Soviet Union has never aspired to be the dominant power in the Pacific.

[Bogdanov] And I believe we have no ambition...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] And we have no ambition, it would be just ridiculous. In fact, I would draw attention to another part of the Gorbachev speech. He not only talked about the political-military aspects, he also talked about the economic aspects of our policy in the Pacific, and he meant, he talked about a new program for economic development of the Far East, the Soviet Far East, which is now under consideration and which, when it is ready, hopefully, it will include very serious advantages, very serious new opportunities, for joint ventures, for foreign investment, so we are opening up our far east for international economic cooperation, but this is a kind of a new economic deal for the Pacific.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, never forget that USA is a Pacific power, we always remember that.

[Plekhanov] Absolutely, and, right and we, we ah...respect the interests...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Gentlemen, as time is running out on us, I would like to wrap up this program by making a short statement rather than putting another question, and this statement, actually an observation, deals with this very curious fact, a very heartening and exciting fact: Both General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan are on the list of candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize for their INF Treaty, for signing the INF Treaty and for their four summit meetings, and I don't mind being accused of resorting to a rhetorical flourish by saying that in this fact I see a sign of the times. The leaders of the two powers that still view each other as major adversaries have become foremost peace makers, and...

[Plekhanov, interrrupting] Partners in the (?future).

[Bogdanov] I believe there is some logic in it, but we have no time to elaborate on that. But we'll do that next time.

[Kuznetsov] Okay, okay, we still have some time for your brief reactions to my observation. There is logic in that?

[Bogdanov] There is a logic in that, that the biggest adversaries, becoming wiser and wiser, and they come to the conclusion that it is much better to have, to start having peaceful relations than adversary relations. That's all.

[Kuznetsov] Sergey?

[Plekhanov] I think the two leaders certainly deserve that prize and I think that symbolically it will contribute to cementing the new relationship that is in the making.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you very much for coming to our studio. Our time is up. That was "Top Priority" and I'm Pavel Kuznetsov signing off til next week at the same time and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

## SRV, Chinese Reactions to Krasnoyarsk Proposals

*PM2609090188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 First Edition p 1*

[TASS roundup dated 22 September: "Peace—the Common Concern!"]

[Excerpt] The world at large is attentively studying the new package of Soviet peace initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk. The idea common to the overwhelming majority of politicians and public figures is that the Krasnoyarsk package of proposals, which is aimed at strengthening security and peace in Asia and the Pacific region, is the USSR's latest contribution to the global restructuring of international relations on modern principles.

Hanoi—The new Soviet peace initiatives put forward in Krasnoyarsk by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are the logical development of the program for peace and security in Asia and the Pacific region expressed 2 years ago in Vladivostok. This was stated by Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and SRV foreign minister.

The USSR's peace initiatives, he noted in a TASS interview, are aimed at achieving the earliest solution of many urgent problems. They include first and foremost not increasing the quantity of any nuclear weapons stored in this part of the world, the nonincrease of naval forces, the lowering of military confrontation, measures designed to prevent incidents on the open sea and in the air, and the earliest convening of an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

Beijing—In his speech in Krasnoyarsk Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev put forward some ideas on security and stability in Asia and the Pacific, a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman stated at a briefing for foreign and Chinese journalists today. We support practical measures aimed at effectively easing the tense situation in Asia and the Pacific region and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation among the different countries of this region. We noted that the Soviet Union is striving to promote the earliest solution of the Cambodian question. [passage omitted]

## Briefs

### TASS Director European News President

Istanbul September 23 TASS—TASS Director-General Sergey Losev was elected president of the Alliance of European News Agencies today at their 31st general assembly here. The meeting, attended by media executivres from 23 countries, is discussing ways to develop and strengthen cooperation and mutual assistance in various news operations. [Text] [*LD2409012288 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 23 Sep 88 LD*]

## United States & Canada

### Shevardnadze Concludes Washington Talks

#### Meeting With Shultz 22 Sep

*LD2209230588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze has arrived in Washington. V. Dunayev, our correspondent in the United States, reports from the U.S. capital.

[Dunayev] The Soviet foreign minister is in Washington once again. At Andrews Air Force Base, Comrade Shevardnadze was met by U.S. and Soviet diplomats. It is hard to imagine that there was a time when the heads of our countries' diplomatic departments saw each other once a year at best. The talks that started today between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and George Shultz are the 28th over the past 3 years. Such is the intensity of the communication between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state—almost once a month, in Moscow, Geneva, and here in Washington. Without those conversations, talks, consultations, and exchanges of views, it is difficult to imagine Soviet-U.S. relations today. The landmark meetings between our countries' leaders are prepared at the ministerial level, and arrangements and agreements are reached in principle. It is for this reason that there is such great interest in every one of the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Washington.

Comrade Shevardnadze replied to journalists' questions.

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze] We will discuss the Afghan problem.

[Unidentified reporter] What do you think of the chances for progress in the field of strategic offensive weapons? Are there any new proposals? Are there any chances of drawing closer together

[Shevardnadze] There are chances. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

[Dunayev] It is now 1300 in Washington. George Shultz has just given a luncheon in honor of Comrade Shevardnadze, at which the U.S. secretary of state and the USSR foreign minister exchanged speeches.

#### Washington Luncheon Held

*LD2209220088 Moscow TASS in English 2126 GMT 22 Sep 88*

[Text] Washington September 23 TASS—George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, gave a luncheon in the State Department in honour of Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister, on Thursday.

The secretary of state said that for the past three years the Soviet Union and the United States despite differences "have moved from an impasse over arms control to a historic treaty that for the first time actually reduces nuclear weapons". "We have also made steady progress toward a START treaty which would reduce our strategic arsenals by 50 percent," Shultz went on to say. "We have progressed from mutual recriminations to wide-ranging discussions and some encouraging positive steps on human rights. With an international accord on Afghanistan attained, we are exploring ways to help resolve other regional conflicts. We have set up a more systematic, businesslike way of managing bilateral issues."

"Contentious issues remain in our relationship. Yet if the history of the past three years teaches us anything at all, it is that the differences dividing us, and the problems confronting us, are not insurmountable," George Shultz said.

As Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said, "the road traveled over these three years by our two countries was not a result of some coincidence, but rather the only right option. It became possible as a result of a conscious choice made by our leaders, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, a choice made on the basis of a sober-minded and far-sighted analysis of contemporary realities. They were guided by the will of reason and not by the force of circumstances".

"If we were to rely only on providence and destiny, we could not have four summit meetings, could not sign and implement one of the most complex treaties ever known to human history, or conclude dozens of other agreements and begin the preparation of many more important agreements," Eduard Shevardnadze said.

"Today, the Soviet Union and the United States have reached a point from which they can move forward in many areas more confidently, and with less risk for themselves and for others. All of this does not mean, of course, that movement in our relations is now a kind of automatic mode. Of course, we continue to have many complex problems, and the current meeting will probably not put an end to them. Many problems continue to call for answers, argument, and, in the final analysis, for hard choices. This relates to such problems as an agreement on 50 per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms, prevention of an arms race in space, banning chemical weapons, cessation of nuclear testing, reductions in conventional arms on land and on the seas," Eduard Shevardnadze said.

The Soviet foreign minister pointed out that for the Soviet Union and the United States "it is the best to compete in building constructive solutions that guarantee peace of our nations and for all other nations in shaping positive events, in awakening new hopes, in consolidating the belief that our goals can be achieved."

### Meeting With Bush, Shultz

*LD2309163888 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Washington September 23 TASS—U.S. Vice-President George Bush had a meeting in his residence in the morning today with visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The meeting, attended by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, was held at the request of Bush.

Going out with Shevardnadze after it to reporters waiting ouside his residence, he said they had had a substantive discussion on the state of affairs in the U.S.-Soviet bilateral relationship.

Bush made a point of stressing that the two countries share the goal and desire to undertake steps to outlaw chemical and bacteriological weapons.

The Soviet foreign minister had brought fresh and specific proposals to Washington towards achieving the goal.

Summing up the results of his meeting with the vice-president, Shevardnadze said they had had "an interesting, thorough-going and concrete discussion on problems that worry our countries".

He said the meeting had been dominated by exchanges of opinions on how "to preserve the level achieved in Soviet-American relations and secure their continued stability".

"This approach meets the interests of the people of the USSR, the United States and the whole world," Shevardnadze added.

Later in the day he continued talks with Shultz to discuss the state of, and prospects for developing, Soviet-U.S. relations and the issues of cuts in strategic nuclear armories.

The talks involve experts on both sides as well as the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, John Matlock, and the Soviet ambasador to the United States, Yuriy Dubinin.

Still later in the day, Shevardnadze is to meet with President Ronald Reagan at the White House.

### More on Shevardnadze-Bush Meeting

*LD2309174088 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Washington September 23 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, met with George Bush, U.S. vice-president and Republican Party presidential candidate.

They had a thorough exchange of opinions on a number of problems related to world politics and Soviet-American relations which have been developing dynamically and constructively.

It was stressed that the four summits between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan have been of decisive significance.

The sides agreed it is important now to enhance steadiness and stability in the Soviet-American relationship to the development of which the U.S. vice-president has been contributing as well.

The Soviet foreign minister said the Soviet leadership is strongly for taking full advantage of the unique chance offered to our peoples and the peoples of the entire world by the shaping balance of national interests of the Soviet Union and the United States without detriment to the interests of third countries.

The process should be developed and consolidated, which is only possible on the basis of reciprocity. A policy of reciprocity requires that each side show a high sense of responsibility and consistency in words and deeds and abide by the jointly agreed platform for action.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh took part in the conversation.

### Bush, Shevardnadze Comment

*LD2309234088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Washington continues. Our Washington correspondent V. Dunayev reports:

[Dunayev] At the request of Vice President George Bush, this morning he met with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze. The residence of the U.S. vice president is situated by the naval observatory in a private, picturesque park not far from the center of Washington. The conversation between our foreign minister and the U.S. vice president, which was attended by Secretary of State Shultz, lasted more than an hour.

[Begin recording] [Bush in English with superimposed Russian translation] I would like to thank the foreign minister for his visit. We had a very substantive conversation about bilateral relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and it is with satisfaction that I note that once again—we have already met several times—it has become even clearer that we share a common desire. We share several, but there is one in

particular that is dear to both me and to the foreign minister, that is the desire of the Soviet Union and the United States to achieve a ban on chemical and biological weapons.

[Shevardnadze] As my first duty I would like to cordially thank the vice president for his hospitality and for the attention accorded to me. There has been an interesting and profound talk, very much to the point on the issues that interest our countries. If we are to speak of the theme of our conversation, I see it as being the need to maintain the level that has been reached in Soviet-U.S. relations, and to seek a further stabilization and normalization of our cooperation. Such an approach is in accord with the interests of both the American and Soviet peoples—and of all other peoples in the world. Once again I would like to thank you. [end recording]

[Dunayev] Following the meeting between Comrade Shevardnadze and Vice President Bush, the Soviet-U.S. talks were resumed at the State Department between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state and, just as yesterday, with their deputies, aides, and experts.

In a few hours time, as a new day is dawning in Moscow, a meeting in the White House is scheduled between Comrade Shevardnadze and President Ronald Reagan.

### Shevardnadze, Reagan Meet Press

*LD2409234988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by V. Dunayev from Washington—recorded; remarks by journalists, Reagan in English with Dunayev-supplied Russian translation]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze had a meeting with President Reagan in the White House and passed on to him a personal message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Prior to the conversation in the Oval Office, the President, Secretary of State Shultz, and the Soviet minister of foreign affairs came out to the reporters awaiting them in the Rose Garden; and as usual the questions came thick and fast. The interest in Comrade Shevardnadze's visit and the Soviet-U.S. talks is not abating here.

[Reporter] Mr President, excuse me, what have you achieved in Soviet-U.S. relations over these years, since the first meeting with Mr Shevardnadze? How do you assess this?

[Reagan] To put it briefly, I would say that we have made appreciable progress on every single matter that we have discussed.

[Reporter] Mr Shevardnadze, what do you think about Soviet-U.S. relations today, 3 years on?

[Shevardnadze, in Russian with English translation] Relations are very good. We have achieved a great deal in recent years.

[Reporter] Mr President, is this your last meeting in person with a Soviet leader?

[Reagan] I have 4 months ahead of me. I don't intend to sit through them, I intend to work.

[Reporter] Do you expect to meet Gorbachev again, maybe in Oslo if you are awarded the Nobel Prize?

[Reagan] Wait and See.

[Shevardnadze] It's a good possibility.

[Reporter] You know something we don't know?

### Further on Remarks to Press

*LD2309205788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2050 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Washington, 24 Sep (TASS)—Over the past 3 years "we have achieved great progress in virtually all matters relating to Soviet-U.S. relations," U.S. President Ronald Reagan stated upon receiving Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, in the White House on Friday. Answering journalists' questions just before the beginning of the meeting, Reagan spoke in favor of continuing the dialogue with the Soviet Union on a wide range of matters relating to strategic nuclear arms control.

For his part, the Soviet minister pointed out that during the past 3 years the USSR and the United States "have achieved a great deal" in imparting steadfastness and stability to Soviet-U.S. relations. Eduard Shevardnadze confirmed to journalists that he would pass on a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the U.S. President. This message, the minister said, contains proposals "over the whole range" of Soviet-U.S. relations.

President Reagan said that he "still has not seen" this message, but will "possibly" pass on a letter in reply to the Soviet leader.

### Shevardnadze, Reagan Discuss Ties

*LD2409034988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] Washington, 24 (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, on Friday had a meeting with U.S. President R. Reagan in the White House.

E.A. Shevardnadze presented the U.S. President with a personal message from CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev.

In the course of the conversation that took place, fundamental issues of Soviet-U.S. relations and their practical aspects in light of the accords reached at the Moscow summit were discussed in close-up.

Confidence was expressed that continuity in the policies of the USSR and the United States would be maintained, taking into account the fact that the line toward a constructive Soviet-U.S. dialogue enjoys the firm support of the peoples of the two countries. Reaching new accords in the pivotal area of limiting and reducing armaments is in the interests of the USSR and the United States.

On the Soviet side, the importance was stressed of mutual efforts to expand and deepen cooperation and mutual understanding on a stable, long-term basis. In this connection, the determining significance was noted of Soviet-U.S. contacts at the highest level for generally improving relations between the two countries and changing the entire international situation for the better.

E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the USSR's readiness to continue interacting intensively with the present U.S. Administration. The President's attention was drawn to the main unresolved issues at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments. In doing so, emphasis was placed on the necessity of reciprocal steps from the U.S. side in the interest of reaching accords on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States while observing the ABM Treaty and not withdrawing from it during the approved period.

The Soviet Union's positions on the problems of banning chemical weapons, nuclear tests, and reducing conventional armaments in Europe were set out. Explanations were also given in connection with the ideas and notions concerning the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, which M.S. Gorbachev recently voiced in Krasnoyarsk.

The U.S. President, having given a high evaluation of the positive results of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue in the past few years, spoke for ensuring continuity in the development of relations between the two states and peoples.

### Prospects for Arms Agreement

*LD2309220288 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Washington September 24 TASS—The main results of the Soviet-American talks held in Washington "are reflected in a joint statement", Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister, said after a meeting with President Reagan, which lasted a little more than an hour. "This is quite a substantial document which speaks of all the problems, touches on nuclear arms, human rights, regional questions, chemical weapons and bilateral relations. It states what we have achieved over the past years", he said in a conversation with newsmen before the White House.

Eduard Shevardnadze said that "maybe it will be possible" to reach an interim agreement on arms control before there is a change of the administration in the USA. The foreign minister said that this question was discussed at the meetings at Washington. "There are some understandings but there are also difficulties. We shall instruct our delegations to seek mutually acceptable solutions," said Eduard Shevardnadze, stressing that, following the last meeting in Washington, there are "better prospects" for this.

### Soviet-U.S. Joint Statement

*PM2409225588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Soviet-U.S. Talks End"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the CPSU Central Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, on 23 September ended talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. The following joint statement has been issued on the results of the talks:

Proceeding from the agreed goal of continued development of the U.S.-Soviet dialogue, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz met 22-23 September 1988 in Washington for further discussions on the full range of arms limitation and disarmament, human rights and humanitarian, and regional and bilateral issues in U.S.-Soviet relations. The foreign minister called on U.S. President Ronald Reagan at the White House, where they considered the state of relations. He also met with U.S. Vice President George Bush.

During the 2 days of detailed and frank discussions, the sides thoroughly reviewed progress in implementing the agreements and understandings reached by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Reagan at the Washington and Moscow summits. They noted that although important differences remain on certain issues, both sides are convinced that solutions are possible. The record of achievement since the November 1985 summit in Geneva attests to this: Goals that seemed impossible have been reached, and other important goals have been brought within sight. Continuity of effort, consistency of purpose, and commitment to a process of candid dialogue aimed at finding practical and enduring solutions to the problems will be as indispensable in the months and years ahead as they have been over the past 3 years.

Toward this end, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary Shultz agreed that the negotiators and experts of the two sides will continue to seek progress across the agenda set forth by General Secretary Gorbachev and

President Reagan in their joint statements at the Washington and Moscow summits. These statements comprise a detailed and concrete program of action for building a more stable and sustainable relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, and for contributing, with other nations, to a world at peace.

The foreign minister and the secretary noted the active and serious efforts under way to resolve outstanding issues at the Geneva nuclear and space talks. They received updated, joint draft texts of a treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms and its associated documents. They welcomed the further elaboration of these drafts since the Moscow summit. The sides discussed a range of issues, including air-launched cruise missiles and the problem of verification of mobile ICBM's and SLCM's. Some further progress was achieved in the first two areas.

The foreign minister and the secretary also reviewed the negotiations to work out a separate agreement concerning the ABM Treaty, in accordance with the joint statements issued at the Washington and Moscow summits.

They noted certain progress achieved in the preparation of an associated protocol during the current round of negotiations in Geneva.

They instructed their negotiators to intensify their efforts in preparing the joint draft texts of the separate agreement and its associated protocol. They also agreed to continue discussions concerning space-based sensors.

The foreign minister and the secretary instructed the delegations in Geneva to continue intensive work aimed at the ultimate completion of the agreements being negotiated at the nuclear and space talks.

The sides discussed concerns that both of them have in connection with the observance of the ABM Treaty. Discussions on these matters will be continued.

The foreign minister and the secretary noted with great satisfaction that since the Moscow summit, both sides have begun the process of actually eliminating nuclear arsenals in accordance with the INF Treaty.

The foreign minister and the secretary welcomed completion of the joint verification experiment (JVE) at the nuclear test sites of the USSR and the United States, which demonstrated an unprecedented degree of cooperation and openness on verification of nuclear testing limitations.

They directed negotiators to finish a new verification protocol to the peaceful nuclear explosions treaty, work on which is nearing completion, and a new verification protocol to the threshold test ban treaty.

They agreed to work for the earliest submission of these documents for ratification, and to continue stage-by-stage negotiations toward the objectives specified by the leaders at the Washington and Moscow summits.

The sides reaffirmed the objective of concluding as soon as possible a global convention on the comprehensive prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, encompassing all states with the potential to produce chemical weapons.

In reviewing progress toward this goal, the sides exchanged views on such issues as laboratory synthesis of supertoxic chemicals for medical and research purposes, bilateral information exchanges, and other confidence-building measures.

They agreed that the 10th round of Soviet-U.S. bilateral consultations on chemical weapons will take place in Geneva from 29 November to 15 December.

The sides expressed deep concern about the recurrent use of chemical weapons, in particular against civilian populations.

They shared the view that the expanding proliferation and use of chemical weapons continue to impart a sense of urgency to their discussions and highlight the absolute necessity of negotiating an effective and verifiable chemical weapons ban.

They reaffirmed their support for the role of the UN secretary general in carrying out prompt investigations in order to ascertain the facts of such use.

They further agreed that Soviet and U.S. experts would meet on 16 December 1988 for a new round of talks on measures to halt the proliferation of chemical weapons.

The sides also stated their serious concern about the proliferation of ballistic missile technology and annouced that, pursuant to the Moscow summit joint statement, Soviet and U.S. experts will meet on 26 September in Washington to discuss this growing problem.

The sides held a thorough discussion of both progress to date and continuing problems in the area of human rights and humanitarian issues.

The foreign minister and the secretary underscored the value of regular bilateral discussions on these issues and the need to further develop constructive dialogue.

The foreign minister and the secretary expressed the special importance their governments attach to promptly achieving a balanced conclusion to the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and called on all participating states to work intensively toward this end.

They reaffirmed the necessity of an outcome at Vienna that encompasses significant results in all the principal areas of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid concluding document, and that further strengthens the CSCE process.

The foreign minister and the secretary also stressed the importance of the ongoing effort with other states to resolve remaining issues on a mandate, in order to begin as soon as possible new negotiations with the objective of enhancing stability and security in the whole of Europe at lower levels of armed forces and conventional armaments.

The foreign minister and the secretary also considered regional issues, including Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central America, the Iran-Iraq war, the Korean peninsula, the Middle East, and southern Africa.

They affirmed the importance of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

They also noted encouraging trends in the search for political solutions to several long-running regional conflicts. In some cases existing negotiating efforts have found new vigor, and in others, new efforts have emerged.

They agreed that the process of a settlement in southwestern Africa is currently at a crucial stage, and noted the importance of sustaining the momentum toward solving the problems of Angola and early independence for Namibia in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The foreign minister and the secretary welcomed the increasingly active contribution of the United Nations to resolving regional conflicts, especially the effort to achieve a durable settlement of the Iran-Iraq war.

They also favored further efforts to bring peace to Cambodia.

They agreed that Soviet and U.S. experts would continue to meet as appropriate to support the search for peaceful solutions to regional conflicts.

The two sides welcomed the continued development of bilateral cooperation and interchange as set forth in the Moscow summit joint statement, as well as further development of contacts between military representatives of the USSR and the United States.

They strongly believe that expansion of bilateral ties on the basis of mutual benefit is in the interests of both sides.

The foreign minister and the secretary exchanged views on prospects for developing trade and economic relations, and reiterated the goals set forth in this field in the Moscow summit joint statement.

E.A. Shevardnadze flew from Washington to New York on 24 September to take part in the 43d UN General Assembly session.

## Shultz Comments on Talks

*LD2409110688 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] Washington September 24 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz gave a news conference at the White House Friday night after his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

At the news conference, Shultz gave the U.S. assessment of the discussions.

He said "both on the part of the President and the foreign minister there was an emphasis on continuity, on a desire to keep working in the remaining months of the administration, to accomplish as much as can be accomplished".

Speaking of the negotiations as a whole, the secretary said:

"I think the basic thing is that there is a pattern in the interaction of the United States and the Soviet Union that is orderly, systematic, regular, that has an understood agenda that includes subjects that were formerly practically impossible to talk about.

"And, by this time, we are just doing it regularly and kind of pecking away at all these subjects. I think that is the most fundamental thing. And that's a big change from the way it was three years ago at the time of the President's first summit meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev."

On human rights discussion, Shultz emphasised that the sides agreed on the need for a "balanced outcome" of the Vienna meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), "balance meaning a substantial and positive treatment of human rights issues", and an "appropriate mandate for the start of conventional arms talks".

"In both of these areas, our discussions lead me to feel... that we see substantial enough progress to make it quite possible that we will be able to bring the Vienna meeting to a successful balanced outcome before long," the secretary said.

"I certainly hope so, and from all indications the Soviets also would like to see that happen," he added.

Speaking about the arms control problem, the secretary of state admitted that there was a "somewhat mixed picture" in that area.

He singled out issues of strategic armaments, talks on space weapons, and problems of limitation of sea-launched cruise missiles.

"I can't say that there is any really substantial progress to report," Shultz said.

At the same time, the secretary of state noted that "we have perhaps the possibility of some progress" in such "key areas" as limitation of air-launched cruise missiles and difficult areas of verification of mobile missiles.

However, he repeated, "I can't report any really substantial movement in those fields".

Asked about a possibility of concluding a treaty on 50 per cent cuts in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the sides while the incumbent administration is in office, Shultz said "It is certainly quite improbable".

The secretary noted that a "huge amount of progress" had been reached in the area of nuclear testing.

He mentioned as "successful" the two experiments held by the Soviet Union and the United States to determine the threshold yield of nuclear explosions.

The secretary said preparation of protocols to the peaceful nuclear explosions treaty and the threshold test ban treaty might soon be completed.

He voiced the hope that "the President will be in a position to send them up for ratification before he leaves office".

Shultz said that, in the United States's opinion, the Krasnoyarsk radar "still presents real difficulties", but he added that "at least, we are discussing the subject in a positive manner".

He described as fruitful and useful discussions on regional problems and briefed reporters on other subjects discussed at the talks.

## Shevardnadze Holds News Briefing

*PM2509154588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 4, 5*

[TASS report: "E.A. Shevardnadze's News Conference"]

[Text] Washington, 24 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR minister of foreign affairs, held a news conference here on Friday on the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. talks held in the U.S. capital on 22 and 23 September. In his introductory statement he said:

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me pleasure to speak to you again in Washington a few months after the fourth summit meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Moscow. Naturally, such a major and truly historic event has required time in which to "generate" an intellectual and practical store of new alternative approaches to problems, to discover new points of agreement, and to think over compromise proposals.

The time has been packed. We carried on working without a summer break. The inspectors have continued their work, missiles have been destroyed, joint experiments have been carried out at nuclear testing ranges, talks have been held in Geneva and Vienna, and there have been several bilateral consultations, meetings between representatives of the public, and interpersonal contacts.

Now the time has come for the latest, 29th meeting of the ministers. It was required by the situation that has objectively evolved in our affairs. There is a need to evaluate the situation at the political level, to detail the mandates and the instructions to experts, specialists, and delegations at the talks.

I would like to stress immediately that this is not a summing up of results, and even less a farewell. On the contrary, it is a fresh continuation of dialogue, the intensiveness of which has, over the last 3 years, become the norm for Soviet-U.S. relations. I will also say that the talks have been prepared thoroughly. They were preceded by contacts through our embassies. Each side conveyed to the other, in advance, specific notions on a number of fundamental issues which figure on our already traditional "four-layer" agenda.

We have brought a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev to President R. Reagan. I will recall that this is not the only message exchanged since the Moscow meeting by the supreme leaders of our countries. The fact that correspondence between our leaders is of a concrete and substantive nature is important and highly indicative for the atmosphere of Soviet-U.S. relations. The new thinking is manifest in this. If we wish not to fall behind the times, it is necessary not just to act precisely and without hesitation, but also not to waste our strength on repeating what has already been covered and is well known, and on marking time in deadlocks at the talks.

Has the current meeting produced any positive results? As an answer I will recall that 3 years ago many found no results in either the Geneva meeting or later in Reykjavik. All the same, both Geneva and Reykjavik predetermined the success of the Washington and Moscow meetings.

Results come as the fruit of the patient and long realization of conceptual ideas, understanding each other's positions, and the achievement of a balance of interests. They are the fruits of long and difficult negotiations and of meetings at various political levels.

The joint statement which has been adopted on the outcome of the talks gives an adequate picture of what was discussed, where there are signs of progress, and where we have come close to agreement. But it naturally cannot reflect what may possibly become a reality tomorrow, or in a month. Here it is important that there is movement, and that it is in the right direction.

Now let me speak a little more specifically about particular elements of the current talks.

At the talks in Geneva on 50-percent reductions of strategic offensive arms and observance of the ABM Treaty, we began tackling several very difficult issues. We are discussing them very intensively and are moving forward.

If you remember, a serious breakthrough was achieved at the Moscow meeting on the monitoring of mobile ICBM's, and also on air-launched cruise missiles. Work is now under way in Geneva on the realization of the Moscow "areas of agreement." Here in Washington the experts have succeeded in reachin out toward, and finding, paths which broaden those areas. I should say that this is a modest, yet notable achievement.

As you probably know, we proposed concluding a separate accord on not increasing the number of warheads on ICBM's and SLBM's of existing types. It could come into force even before a treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive weaponry is signed, and subsequently become part of it. That would be an important step in restraining the nuclear arms race.

We proposed a text of a possible accord on this matter. Unfortunately we have not succeeded in completing this difficult work in Washington, and we have arranged to continue discussions in Geneva. The necessary directives have been given to the delegations.

We succeeded in achieving substantial progress on the problem of limiting nuclear tests.

Real prerequisites appeared for completion before the end of this year of an agreement on the mechanism for verifying the fulfillment of the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and the 1974 treaty on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests. Joint experiments in verification have promoted this. It should be noted that the very fact of their being held is unprecedented in the history of our relations.

Protocols on verification for both treaties could be presented for ratification before the term of office of the current U.S. Administration expires.

Success was also achieved in bringing about further rapprochement in positions on the issue of a mandate for future talks on reducing troops and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. This matter is definitely heading for a point where, of course with the agreement of all countries, large-scale talks on this question, which is of very great importance for Europe, may begin this year.

One of the most acute questions today is that of banning chemical weapons. Talks on elaborating a convention on this have dragged on. We consider it to be extremely important for the USSR and the United States to show initiative and to help to find solutions and ways out which are acceptable to all states.

As I said in Copenhagen, and here on my arrival in Washington, we have brought certain new ideas and proposals for discussion with the secretary of state. It is a question of how to exclude the development and production of chemical weapons without disrupting the normal development of the chemical industry for peaceful purposes, and of exchanging data on military chemical potentials before the signing of a convention. In addition, we have proposed the following: If the United States follows the example of the Soviet Union and declares the extent of its stockpiles of chemical weapons, we will hand the U.S. side a list of Soviet facilities where chemical weapons have been manufactured, indicating their location.

After our exchange of views here, we have been strengthened in our conviction that it is realistic to expect that a convention can be drawn up soon.

It is well known that in the recent past, problems have arisen in our strictly bilateral relations. Now the situation is being rectified. Thus we have agreed to hold talks very soon on the condition of the presence of embassies. Bilateral cooperation on Arctic problems will be broadened and deepened. This is a positive response to the proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev. In the very near future we intend to complete work on an agreement on combating the pollution of the Bering and Chukotka seas and on cooperation in fundamental scientific research. So there too, there is progress.

We held a detailed exchange of views on regional problems with a review of conflict situations—the Near East, Cambodia, Central America, the Korean peninsula, and southern Africa. Attention was drawn to the ideas voiced by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk concerning ways of reinforcing security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The conversation was businesslike and orientated toward practical results useful to both sides.

I would like to mention Afghanistan in particular. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are strictly implementing the Geneva agreements, whereas Pakistan is behaving as if it has no obligations as regards those agreements, which it signed. In this connection we

expressed to the United States, as a guarantor of the agreements signed in Geneva, our assessment of the situation around Afghanistan. I do not conceal that it was plainly stated that a serious situation is emerging, and that it could be that we will have to think about how to act in the future. We will not allow the Geneva documents to be turned into useless pieces of paper.

In connection with the now-ended talks, I would also like to voice certain considerations of a more general nature.

You know that one of the most difficult questions at the Geneva talks is that of long-range sea-based cruise missiles. Many prominent experts, including some in the United States, believe it is better not to develop them at all, and not to arm ourselves with them. Many also agree that such weapons are unnecessary, and perhaps even harmful, to the United States. Here, as they say, even geography is against the United States. There exists, however, another factor: In this type of armaments, the United States has the lead. Hence the temptation to manufacture as many of these missiles as possible and gain a certain advantage. But how long will it last? The idea does not work in that area, for the situation could change, as has more than once happened in the past.

But from that same past the lesson has been drawn that an advantage on one side gives rise to an arms race. Those who have lagged behind strive to catch up with the "leader," and it all begins again from the beginning.

Another example is the problem of verification. We make no secret of the fact that for a long time our attitude toward any kind of monitoring, especially on-site inspection, was one of reserve. Eventually the allergy to verification ended, and it was largely thanks to this that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which includes an unprecedented system of verification, was signed. But no sooner had that happened than we came up against a new obstacle. The negative U.S. stance on verification is putting a serious brake on further progress toward drawing up agreements to reduce nuclear arsenals. Reaching agreement on long-range sea-based cruise missiles is no problem if the U.S. side accepts the principle of strict control and on-site inspection. Our partners don't even want to hear about the fact that warships or submarines can be inspected.

Why? We have yet to receive a reply to that question, unless you count the groundless references to the technical impracticability of verification. It seems the Russian proverb "trust, but check" is good with respect to the Soviet Union, but doesn't apply to the United States.

We like the "word of honor" principle and afford it all possible support, but on condition that it is underpinned by honest scientific thought; this, incidentally, is subscribed to by many U.S. scientists who argue that it is possible to monitor cruise missiles.

We do not dramatize this situation. One has to become accustomed to everything, including, and in particular, controlling one's own actions. Evidently time is needed for this as well. If today it is possible to count SS-20 missiles individually at an operations base, then tomorrow it will be just as easy to monitor ship-borne weapons and cruise missiles.

Now to the Krasnoyarsk radar station. You know that M.S. Gorbachev recently proposed putting an end to the argument over it by turning it into a scientific center for a future international space organization. Scientists and specialists from all countries, including the United States, can work at the station, and the station itself will be under international control and administered by an international body. We are told that this is an interesting idea, but that nonetheless it would be better to destroy the station. But why destroy what could be intelligently used to develop something new, for research work in the interests of all? They promised us they would think about this proposal. Let us hope our partners will reassess our idea.

My remarks about this contain neither skepticism nor disappointment. Too much has changed for the better in our relations for us not to look to the future with hope. And I am fully in agreement with the secretary of state that, as he said yesterday, "the differences and questions facing us can be completely overcome."

In our opinion the discussion of humanitarian problems was good and fruitful this time. A normal, and I would say mutually respectful, highway code has been established along this two-way street.

The conversations with President R. Reagan, Vice President G. Bush, and the talks with Secretary of State G. Shultz, as well as the exchanges of opinion in the groups of experts, were useful and laid a good foundation for further progress.

I am convinced that many practical results will not be slow to show themselves under the current administration. The movement must be nonstop. Only under this condition can much be achieved. An example of this can be found in the positive changes taking place since the Washington and Moscow summits. In this connection I would like to advise journalists not to write that there is going to be a break in Soviet-U.S. relations until January next year. There will be meetings, talks, conversations and—the main thing—results.

E.A. Shevardnadze then answered questions:

Question: Mr Minister, Secretary of State Shultz mentioned at his press conference that the United States and the Soviet Union are on the verge of talks on regulating the proliferation of ballistic missiles, that both sides have

agreed to start work on a protocol limiting their proliferation. You have not mentioned this. Why? And if what the secretary of state said is correct, then where and how will this come about? What are the next steps?

Answer: We have begun discussing this matter, but as yet have reached no definite accord. It is a very serious and complicated problem, and we have made just the first attempt to exchange opinions on it. However, in literally just a few days' time, representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States of America will hold a special meeting in order to discuss this matter in more detail and more fundamentally.

Question: You have mentioned an accord on talks about the conditions under which diplomatic missions exist. Are there any plans to discuss the working conditions of journalists at these talks? Soviet journalists have considerable complaints against the U.S. side.

Answer: These questions have been raised and will certainly be discussed.

Question: You said recently that the restrictions imposed by the committee to control the exports of Western countries are too harsh. Could you be more specific and say which of these restrictions should, in your opinion, be lifted?

Answer: It would be difficult, if not impossible, to provide a detailed list here of the specific technology, equipment, and instruments which have had restrictions imposed on them. But I can tell you—and this is the opinion held by all our experts and the heads of our foreign economic services, as well as by many representatives of the business world in the United States of America and Western Europe—that the notorious Cocom lists have to be reviewed. I have had meetings with various groups of businessmen from Western countries. As I understand it, all of them have a stake in the development of relations with the East, the Soviet Union, and the other socialist states, but existing embargoes severely impede them in this.

You know, the sphere of so-called secrets is becoming obsolete. Just look at what is happening: Nowadays even top-secret matters and everything connected with armaments, with intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, both Soviet and U.S., all the bases and enterprises manufacturing missiles—everything is strictly monitored. More than 400 on-site monitoring inspections are to be carried out on the territory of the Soviet Union, and more than 200 on the territory of the NATO countries. Thus the spheres of secrecy are growing more and more limited. If we manage to conclude an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons and reach agreement on an ABM Treaty, then there will be precious few so-called secrets left. There is a realistic material basis for a radical review of the lists. The best thing, generally, would be to tear them up.

Question: In your speech at the dinner at the State Department you said that you and Secretary of State Shultz had established a good personal relationship, and that this had not infrequently contributed to the success of the talks between you. Could you perhaps dwell on this in a little more detail and say in particular just how this relationship has helped matters?

Answer: It is very difficult to say what it is that makes a personal relationship the way it is. We say—and this is our principled approach—that in any matter—in any business—the human factor is the deciding factor. It is the deciding factor in diplomacy, too. Despite the fact that in the 3 years he has known me, Mr Shultz' outlook has not changed, and I have not adopted a different stance but have remained as ever a confirmed communist, we have managed to seek and establish businesslike contacts, to build normal human, professional—what I would call civilized—relations, and to discuss the most acute and difficult problems in a constructive fashion. Wherever possible we compromise; wherever this is not possible we do not indulge in rhetoric, and still less in demagogy. This is very important in any business, particularly in politics. Thus, together we subscribe to the principles of the new political mentality and of fresh approaches to international politics.

Question: I have two questions. First: Secretary of State Shultz hinted that General Secretary Gorbachev's proposal on the Krasnoyarsk radar is not conditional on the United States doing likewise. Is that so?

The second question: Last week there was an article in the U.S. magazine "AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY" which claimed the Soviet Union had developed electromagnetic and frequency weapons for use in the European theater of military action. The development of such a weapon, the article said, is evidence that the offensive concept of the USSR's military doctrine in Europe has not changed at all. What would you say to that?

Answer: I will begin right off with the second question. I have no data about new weapons. As for the assertions that the doctrine of the USSR is oriented toward offensive actions, I categorically reject this. We have not only proclaimed a defensive doctrine, but we are also conducting a colossal amount of work on defining more precisely the basic military-technical parameters of a defensive doctrine, a doctrine of reasonable sufficiency. In the immediate future we will expound on the main principles of these approaches of ours. This is a very important question because military doctrine is the foundation of military organizational development.

Now the Krasnoyarsk radar station. Indeed, M.S. Gorbachev's proposal does not make the hand-over of the station to a world space organization conditional on a similar step by the American side. But we do call on the United States to consider what to do about the radar stations in Greenland and Britain, the existence of which

causes us serious concern. We believe that these stations with phased arrays and, accordingly, with other devices, constitute a violation of the ABM Treaty. If this were not so, why would our experts not be permitted to visit them, as was allowed of the Americans at the Krasnoyarsk radar station? We gave them access to that station, but they are refraining from making a similar gesture.

Question: Do you believe that it is best for the Soviet Union to have dealings with one particular presidential contender?

Answer: I do not intend to discuss that question.

Question: Please tell us why, at such a late stage, you proposed taking just one of the issues of the talks on strategic offensive arms and concluding an accord outside of the broader context. Why did this issue suddenly become so important? And a second question: After talks with officials of the Reagan administration, are you hopeful that they will enter into an accord on these individual issues before the end of their term of office? Is the Soviet Union prepared for an accord with regard to not increasing warheads on existing types of missiles? Finally, is the USSR prepared to agree to a ban on the encryption of telemetric data in order to facilitate the conclusion of such an agreement?

Answer: In the course of negotiations, new ideas always crop up. Hence the idea—whether it is a good one or a bad one is a different matter—to limit the overall level of warheads and reach agreement on this. That would be an interim accord. However, when discussing this issue with the U.S. Administration and with the secretary of state, certain questions cropped up which require additional study. This is a perfectly normal situation. As I have already said, negotiations on this question, including issues of telemetry, will be continued in Geneva.

Question: Did you discuss here the use by Iraq of chemical weapons against the Kurds and the appearance of a large number of Kurdish refugees in Turkey? Did you discuss the consequences of this for the region as a whole?

Answer: I have already said in my address that we specifically examined in great detail the questions connected with the prohibition of chemical weapons, including the fact that toxins are being used in certain regions. The joint final statement records our common stance with the United States condemning any instances of the use of chemical weapons wherever this may occur. As for specific countries, proof is needed here.

Question: The situation in Afghanistan, as you have said, is exceptionally serious. You have also said that you will be thinking about what ought to be done. Are you examining the possiblity of increasing support to Afghanistan with troops? Or are there some other options?

Answer: One of the options which we are proposing and which we discussed with the secretary of state is for four ministers to meet in New York—from the United States, the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and Afghanistan—that is, the ministers of those countries which signed the Geneva agreements, and with a representative of the UN secretary general, or the secretary general himself, in order to examine the sitation that has developed around Afghanistan. There are other options too.

Quyestion: What issues connected with the functioning of the embassy were discussed during the talks?

Answer: The most diverse issues, even technical ones. There are many of them. Trips around the country, for instance, the provision of tickets, and another issue. You will recall the unpleasantness connected with limits on the numerical strength of embassies. I think the Americans too are now prepared to admit that this was not an altogether felicitous decision—to reduce personnel numbers because of their allegedly being excessive.

Question: As far as I undertsand it, the most difficult regional issue in relations between the two countries is Central America. Were you and Secretary of State Shultz able to bring your positions any closer on this issue?

Answer: No, we were not able to do so.

Question: Could you review certain other regional issues, such as the Near East, Cambodia, Ethiopia, southern Africa? How do things stand regarding the positions of the sides?

Answer: We would need at least an hour to do that. In brief, I will tell you that these problems were discussed. I recommend that you read the joint final statement. This quite voluminous document covers all the regional problems, including the Near East.

Question: U.S. correspondents recently visited Georgia and discovered that the Stalin museum was closed. Why is it closed? When you were leader of the Georgian Communist Party, what was your opinion about the existence of this museum? Did you try to shut it down or somehow change its contents?

Answer: The museum shut down? I didn't know that. Perhaps it is closed for repairs. Perhaps I am now better acquainted with regional and other international problems than with the state of certain museums in my country.

Question: In the White House today you were asked whether a meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan was possible in Oslo in connection with the possible award to them of the Nobel Peace Prize. What do you think; will that meeting take place? You said that it was possible.

Answer: I did not say that this was possible but merely observed that this was an intersting option. It does not, however, depend on us. It is not up to us, or to journalists who discuss candidates and vote for them. There is a special committee which brings together well-known, authoritative people, and it decides on the award of the Nobel Prize. If it awards it to two outstanding political figures, I do not rule out the fact that this would become an occasion for their meeting in Oslo. But I repeat: This does not come within our sphere of competence.

Are you not satisfied with my answer?

Question: But, all the same, they will meet? There will be a meeting?

Answer: You have spoken about the possibility of the award of the Nobel Prize. If that does indeed happen, there is likely to be an awards ceremony. If it takes place, it is possible that a meeting of the award winners will also take place. But this is all at the level of conjecture, and I do not intend to predict other people's decisions.

Question: Would you please go into a little more detail about General Secretary Gorbachev's letter to President Reagan?

Answer: Only very briefly. The message sums up in close-up the results of the joint work over the past 3 years, and expresses certain fundamental opinions about the continuation of the traditions which have become firmly established and about the enrichment of the experience that has accumulated in our relations; it also contains wishes for the preservation of continuity along all avenues of disarmanent problems, regional issues, bilateral relations, and so forth.

Question: Has there been any progress at the Vienna meeting? What grounds is there for optimism that it will successfully conclude soon?

Answer: We discussed all three aspects of the agenda of the Vienna meeting: military-political, economic, and humanitarian. As for the military-political apsects, much has been done. The objectives of future negotiations on the reduction of conventional arms have been coordinated. Mutual undertanding has been reached on other questions too. One issue does remain and is very complex—agreeing on a mandate for the negotiations. So far there have been profound divergences on this. The secretary of state and I have just discussed a formula which is also being proposed to our partners and allies. It is a compromise formula, although, it is true, it does not eliminate all the obstacles. But even if we and the Americans do reach agreement, that will not be all that is needed, because even the most ideal formula still has to be discussed and agreed with our allies in the Warsaw Pact and, likewise for the United States with representataives of the Western countries.

Question: And on humanitarian problems?

Answer: The main obstacles here are being surmounted. A few of them remain. The majority of problems whose solution has needed coordination have been resolved. On some we are finding compromise options. So there are good prospects for the conclusion of the Vienna meeting some time at the end of October or beginning of November. We have spoken out in terms of it being desirable to complete this meeting with an impressive final document and with the participation of foreign ministers.

Question: All the same, permit me to return to the question of a possible meeting in Oslo. Whether there is a prize or not, that is not important. We are interested in whether the possiblity exists of holding yet another meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan.

Answer: It would most likely be incorrect to rule out such a possibility. Everything will depend on how the negotiators in Geneva work, and not just in Geneva. A process of very intensive negotiations on a whole spectrum of issues is under way—nuclear, space, conventional arms, chemical weapons, nuclear tests.... If the conditions are ripe, I do not rule out a meeting taking place. But I cannot at present answer affirmatively.

Question: What do you think about the present situation in Armenia?

Answer: It is a diffcult situation. The Soviet Government and the governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan have been forced to take the most essential and serious steps so as to prevent disturbances and to prevent a repetition of what happened in Sumgait.

Question: Mr Minister, this is your 29th meeting with the secretary of state. You stress the positive features and consider that substantial progress has been achieved. But if you take a look back, do you not consider that there have also been some disappointments? What could have been achieved if not for the mistakes of your government and of the Reagan administration?

Answer: It is not a matter of mistakes. The negotiating process in itself is very complex, and the problems discussed at negotiations are themselves extremely complex. It would, of course, have been ideal—and I have dreamed of this—to prepare for the signature of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. I shall go further and say that this is the dream of all peoples, of the whole world. We are of course disappointed that we did not succeed in carrying this business through to the conclusion. But we believe that the ground has been well prepared for this.

Question: Two very brief questions: Do you believe that next year a meeting may take place between Mr Gorbachev and the leader of the PRC? And a second question: Were Gorbachev's proposals on the Asia-Pacific region, and specifically on the elimination of naval bases in Vietnam and the Philippines, discussed?

Answer: You most likely paid heed to the fact that when speaking in Krasnoyarsk, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev expressed readiness to meet with the Chinese leader. Everything now depends on the Chinese comrades. I have already spoken about Asia-Pacific affairs but I am prepard to repeat: Yes, we did discuss them and quite thoroughly.

But our dialogue about bases did not fare very well....

Question: As regards the question of a mandate for talks on conventional arms, did you insist, as before, on the inclusion of American bases in southern Turkey? What part of the the Caucasus are you prepared to open up?

Answer: I have already said that the mandate for the talks, the agreement of the subject of the talks, is a most acute problem. As for the geographical zone, this question too is being discussed. But I think that if the basic question is resolved, it will be possible to reach agreement about the geographical zone.

Question: You met with Vice President Bush today, but he is, after all, also a presidential contender. Does it not disturb you that this could appear as a sort of bias on your part? Was there any talk of a meeting with Governor Dukakis?

Answer: I think that a meeting between Vice President Bush and the foreign minister of the Soviet Union is a perfectly normal phenomenon. If a meeting takes place with Governor Dukakis, one should not be suprised at that either.

## Moscow TV on News Conference

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[News conference given by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on 23 September in Washington—recorded; questions translated and read by announcer]

[Text] [Shevardnadze] Has the current meeting produced any positive results? As an answer I will recall that 3 years ago many found no results either in the Geneva meeting nor later in Reykjavik. There were such people. All the same, both Geneva and Reykjavik predetermined the success of the Washington and Moscow meetings.

Results come as the fruits of the patient and long realization of conceptual ideas, understanding each other's positions, and the achievement of a balance of interests. They are the fruits of long and difficult negotiations, and of meetings at various political levels.

Now let me speak a little more specifically about particular elements of the current talks with the secretary of state.

At the Geneva talks on 50-percent reductions of strategic offensive arms and observance of the ABM Treaty, we began tackling several very difficult and complex issues. We are discussing them very intensively and we are moving forward a little.

If you remember, a serious breakthrough was achieved at the Moscow meeting on the verification of mobile ICBM's, and also on air-launched cruise missiles. Work is now underway in Geneva on the realization of the Moscow areas of agreement. Here in Washington the experts have succeeded in searching for and finding paths that broaden those areas. I should say that this is a modest yet not inconsiderable achievement. As you probably know we proposed concluding a separate accord on not increasing the number of warheads on ICBM's and SLBM's of existing types. It could come into force even before a treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive weaponry is signed, and subsequently become part of it. That would be an important step in restraining the nuclear arms race. We proposed a text of a possible accord on this matter. We succeeded in achieving substantial progress on the problem of limiting nuclear tests.

Real prerequisites have appeared for completing before the end of this year, agreement on the mechanism for the verification of the fulfillment of the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and the 1974 treaty on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests. Joint experiments in verification have helped this. It should be noted that the very fact of their being held is unprecedented in the history of our relations.

Success was also attained in achieving further rapprochement in positions on the issue of a mandate for future talks on reducing troops and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. This matter is definitely heading for a point where—of course with the agreement of all countries—large-scale talks on this question, which is of very great importance for Europe, may begin this year.

One of the most acute questions today is that of banning chemical weapons. Talks on elaborating a convention on this have dragged. We consider it to be extremely important for the USSR and the United States to show initiative in finding solutions and ways that are acceptable to all states.

A very great deal from the viewpoint of preparations for speeding up the process of preparation of a convention banning chemical weapons depends precisely upon our two countries. Taking into account the exchange of opinions that have taken place here, we have strengthened our conviction that the rapid working out of a convention is perfectly realistic.

It is well known that in the recent past, problems have arisen in our strictly bilateral relations. Now we are beginning to rectify the situation. Thus we have agreed to hold talks very soon on the conditions of the presence of our embassies and other diplomatic services. We held a detailed exchange of views on regional problems with a review of essentially all conflict situations—the Near East, Cambodia, Central America, the Korean peninsula, and the south of Africa. The discussion was businesslike, oriented in a practical direction, and useful for both sides. We discussed in quite a detailed way the whole range of problems linked with the Asian and Pacific Ocean region. I would like to mention Afgfhanistan in particular. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are strictly implementing the Geneva agreements, whereas Pakistan is behaving as if it has no obligations as regards those agreements, which it signed. In this connection we expressed to the United States, as a guarantor of the agreements signed in Geneva, our assessment of the situation concerning Afghanistan. I will not conceal that we said that a very, very serious situation is emerging, and that it could be that we will have to think about how to act in the future in order not to allow the Geneva documents to be turned into useless pieces of paper.

In connection with the just-ended talks I would also like to voice certain considerations of a more general nature. You know that one of the most difficult questions at the Geneva talks is that of long-range sea-based cruise missiles. Many prominent experts, including some in the United States, believe it is better not to develop them at all and not to arm ourselves with them. It is a thorny question, but such an opinion does exist, and it exists among people who are quite authoritative and knowledgeable. Many also agree that such weapons are unnecessary, and perhaps even harmful, to the United States. Here, as they say, even geography is against the United States. There exists, however, another factor: In this type of armaments the United States has the lead. Hence, evidently, the temptation to manufacture as many of these missiles as possible, and gain a certain military advantage. But how long will it last? The idea does not work in that area, for the situation could change, as has more than once happened in the past. But from that same past the lesson has been drawn that an advantage on one side gives rise to an arms race; those who have lagged behind strive to catch up with the leader, and it all begins again from the beginning.

Another example—and I also want to be frank about this—is the problem of verification. To be honest, we make no secret of the fact that for a long time our attitude to any kind of monitoring especially on-site inspection, was one of reserve, if one is to put it in very delicate terms.

In the end, the allergy to verification ended; and it was largely thanks to this that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which includes an unprecedented system of verification, was signed.

But no sooner had that happened than we came up against a new obstacle. Now, the negative stance of the United States on verification is putting a serious brake on further progress toward drawing up agreements to reduce nuclear arsenals.

To reach agreement on long-range sea-based cruise missiles, for example, is no problem if the U.S. side accepts the principle of strict control, especially on-site inspection.

Our partners don't want even to hear about inspections of warships and submarines. But why? We still have to receive a reply to that question, unless you count the groundless references to the technical impracticability of verification. The result is that the saying "trust, but check" which is very well known both in our country, in the Soviet Union, and in the United States—a Russian saying—is good with respect to the Soviet Union but does not really apply to the United States.

We like the "word of honor" principle and give it every possible support, but on the condition that it is backed by honest, scientific thought—which, incidentally, is adhered to by many U.S. scientists, who argue that it is possible to verify cruise missiles, both those based at sea and in the air.

[Correspondent] ASSOCIATED PRESS. As I understand it, Central America is the most difficult regional question between the two countries. Have you and Secretary of State Shultz been able to bring your positions closer together on this question during the talks?

[Shevardnadze] We have not been able to do so.

[Same correspondent] Is a meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan in Oslo possible? You have said that this is possible. Do you think that they will accept the Nobel Peace Prize there? Do you believe that such a meeting will take place?

[Shevardnadze] I did not say that this is possible. Always there are some other factors that necessarily must be added. I said that it was interesting. But it doesn't depend on us. We aren't the ones who vote, nor are the journalists the ones who vote. If, say, that famous committee of very authoritative and well-known scientists makes a decision to award the Nobel Prize to two outstanding political figures, then I do not rule out its becoming the grounds for a meeting in Oslo. But that doesn't depend on us.

[Unidentified voice, in Russian] You said recently that you consider some of the restrictions under the Cocom list—restrictions on exports—to be excessive. Which of these restrictions do you specifically consider should be lifted in your view?

[Shevardnadze] I am not going to name specific technologies and specific equipment, instruments, and so forth: That would be difficult and impossible. I don't remember them now. But I will say one thing: In the first place, this is the view of all our specialists and the leaders who deal with external trade problems, and secondly, as far as I know, the same opinion is held by many, many representatives of business circles, both in the United States and Western Europe. I have had meetings with a large group from the FRG, several dozen people, people who are very knowledgeable, so to speak, and interested in the development of relations with the East, with the Soviet Union and other states, who believe, as I understand it, that something does have to be reviewed, and reviewed thoroughly.

You know what's happening. This sphere of the so-called secrets is getting narrower. Just look: The most sacred secrets, everything that is linked with armaments and missiles, our missiles of medium and shorter-range, Soviet ones and U.S. ones, those that were deployed on the territory of the Soviet Union and of our allies, of the allies of the United States—all these bases and enterprises, eveything is being verified. More than 400 verification inspections, on-site inspections, are to be carried out on the territory of the Soviet Union over these years. All these were secrets. There are many comrades who know of the conditions under which these enterprises worked and functioned. So this sphere is getting narrower and narrower, it is being reduced.

### Shevardnadze Arrives in New York

*LD2409232588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2220 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] New York, 25 Sep (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who heads the USSR delegation to the General Assembly session, has arrived in New York to take part in the work of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.

Answering journalists' questions at the airport, he declared that the Soviet Union takes the 43d General Assembly session seriously and attributes great importance to it. We have something to say. Great changes are taking place in the world, but there are very many unsolved questions. The main thing, however, is that positive trends have appeared.

To a request to comment on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations with the current U.S. Administration, whose term of office soon expires, E.A. Shevardnadze replied that he had said lot about this at his news conference in Washington. Materials on it have been published. To put it briefly, he said, it has been possible to do much with the current administration, particularly in the last 3 years.

Eduard Shevardnadze did not rule out the possibility of a meeting this week with Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Party candidate.

### Shevardnadze Meets Armand Hammer

*LD2609083988 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 26 Sep 88*

[Text] New York September 26 TASS—Eduard Shevardnandze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who is heading a Soviet delegation at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly, received on Sunday here Armand Hammer, a prominent U.S. businessman, who is chairman of the board of directors of the Occidental Petroleum company.

## China

### Zhao Ziyang Outlines Reform for Friedman

*PM2609102388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7*

[TASS report: "Assessing the Reform"]

[Text] Beijing, 22 Sep—"Three issues will have to be resolved in the process of reform in China. The first is price reform. The second is curbing inflation. The third is the introduction of a joint-stock system at industrial enterprises based on social ownership of the means of production," Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, stated during a meeting with the eminent U.S. economist M. Friedman.

Price reform is already on the agenda as an important measure, he noted. These are not just government guidelines—it is necessary to create a price formation mechanism. Price reform should be carried out at the same time as curbing inflation. As the reform bites, the restructuring of the mechanism for industrial enterprises' activities will be continued in order to enhance enterprises' resistance to internal contraints and to switch them to cost-covering. To this end, the prime task is to "separate the two powers"—that is, detach the right of ownership from the right of management and spread contracts in every possible way. It is necessary to introduce the joint-stock system, based on social ownership. This will require considerable restructuring of nationwide ownership at industrial enterprises. Currently China has, on the whole, prepared the conditions for the introduction of the joint-stock system.

The direction of the reform of the economic system in China will be unchanging, the Chinese leader pointed out. However, specific steps and methods should be constantly regulated in accordance with the specific situation in the PRC.

## Yao Yilin Meets Soviet Prices Committee Chief

*LD2509103588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Beijing, 23 Sep (TASS)—A meeting took place today between Yao Yilin, member of the Standing Committee of the CCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Valentin Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, who is head of a Soviet delegation.

During the conversation, Yao Yilin spoke about the new approach in China to the reform in the mechanism of price formation. He noted in particular that the so-called free prices determined by the demands of the market have already been introduced on 50 percent of goods. At the same time, the prices of such important raw material and consumer goods as grain, cotton, and meat, as well as the main means of production, continue to remain under state control [words indistinct]. Without this, during the process of further economic construction China will encounter even more serious difficulties.

The head of the Soviet delegation talked about the course of restructuring and the plans for price reforms in the Soviet Union.

The sides stated that the development of cooperation between the economic bodies of the two countries will promote the restructuring of the economic mechanisms in both China and the USSR.

## Spokesman Refutes PRC Report on Afghanistan

*OW2609070188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, at a press briefing, has refuted a Beijing Radio report quoting the Pakistani press agency as saying that according to Hikmatyar, the Afghan opposition forces have allegedly occupied 80 percent of Afghan towns. The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said: Such rumors are for the consumption of ignorant and gullible people. He asserted: Indeed, in many Afghan towns there are no government troops because in those towns there is either a coalition government that performs its functions or an agreement that allows the local tribal regiment to maintain order in its own province or district.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed: Supplies for economic development are now continuously being transported to and from Kabul.

The spokesman refuted BBC and VOA reports alleging that the National Reconciliation Committee in Afghanistan had been dissolved. He said: As a result of restructuring the committee, the presidium has been abolished, but the committee itself is continuing to function.

## Joint Soviet-Chinese Brick Plant Constructed

*LD2509184388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] In the Pogranichnyy Rayon of the Maritime Kray a joint Soviet-Chinese brick factory is being constructed. It will produce 20 million bricks annually. The enterprises of the kray agro-industrial committee can produce only 12 million.

Correspondent A. Krutov reports: According to a contract, the plant is to be completed in 143 days. [passage omitted]

The experience of Pogranichnyy Rayon of Maritime Kray confirms what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in Krasnoyarsk, that the skillful attraction of foreign capital to the Far East, the attraction of a labor force, could solve a mass of problems here in a short time, for which at the moment we either do not have enough money, or else we spend it to no result. [video opens with shots of entrance to village; screen caption reads: "Joint Soviet-Chinese Building Site"]

## Heilongjiang, Vladivostok Trade Pacts Signed

*OW2609003288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 20 Sep 88*

[Text] An import-export commodity exhibition of the Heilongjiang Provincial Foreign Trade General Company opened in Vladivostok today. On exhibition are over 3,000 kinds of commodities, including very sophisticated (?microprocessors) as well as bicycles for children.

Vladivostok's economic leaders, who visited the exhibition, signed a series of mutual beneficial trade agreements.

## Border Photography Group Meets in Beijing

*LD2509095088 Moscow TASS in English 0612 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[Text] Beijing September 25 TASS—A meeting of the joint working group on aerial photographic survey was held in Beijing on September 17-25 as part of the border talks between Soviet and Chinese Government delegations.

At the meeting, the sides summed up the results of aerial surveys in the eastern part of the Soviet-Chinese border and exchanged aerial photographic materials.

Members of the joint working group were received by Tian Zengpei, deputy foreign minister of China.

### Soviet, Chinese Agreement on Meteorology Signed

*LD2409130488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1333 GMT 23 sEP 88*

[Excerpt] Moscow, 22 Sep (TASS)—Representatives of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology visiting Beijing have laid a good foundation for practical cooperation between Soviet and Chinese meteorologists. This is the opinion of Sergey Khodkin, a member of the collegium of this committee, who has returned from China today.

"As a result of the talks between the Soviet delegations and the experts of the chief state meteorological directorate of the People's Republic of China," he said, "an agreement was signed on scientific and technological cooperation in the field of meteorology which will operate in the next 5 years and be renewed automatically when the term expires. The agreement will continue to be renewed automatically every 5 years." [passage omitted]

### Possible Interest in Gorbachev Ties Proposals

*OW2609002588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 20 Sep 88*

[Report by station commentator (Daniliyants)]

[Text] The Soviet Union has worked out a number of measures to expand economic relations between the Soviet Far East and neighboring Pacific countries. This was discussed at length by Soviet leader Gorbachev in a speech in Krasnoyarsk last week. We believe that the Chinese side will be interested in a series of specific proposals put forth by the Soviet leader. The following report on this is by our station commentator (Daliniyants):

It should be pointed out that the Soviet Union has been watching closely, first of all, the Chinese press reports on the Soviet proposal for setting up joint economic ventures by China, Japan, and the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual benefit. In his speech in Krasnoyarsk, Comrade Gorbachev said: If agreed upon by all sides, this proposal can be materialized.

In my opinion, China may also be interested in the Soviet proposal for cooperation with China in developing agricultural production in Amur and Chita Oblasts and Maritime Kray. The Soviet Union has also proposed that the two countries start negotiations for signing mutually beneficial construction projects for civilian use in Soviet areas bordering China. In the near future, enterprises, institutions, and production cooperatives in the Soviet Far East will be granted the authority to conduct business activities in the market abroad. I believe that the Chinese side will be interested in this. It is our hope that these proposals will considerably increase mutually beneficial exchanges, including exchanges between competent enterprises in the Soviet Far East and northeast China.

There is great potential for establishing special zones for joint ventures in the Soviet Far East. Gorbachev said in Krasnoyarsk that preferential treatment in customs, foreign trade, and taxation will be given there. The Soviet Union is making comprehensive preparations for expanding trade and production ties between the Soviet Far East and the neighboring countries, or countries in even further places. The Soviet Union is also planning to establish a regional body in the Far East for coordinating economic relations with foreign countries.

All these proposals will open up new prospects for promoting good-neighborly cooperation between the Soviet Union and other countries, including China.

## Northeast Asia

### Gromyko To Visit DPRK Late October

*LD2509100288 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—At the invitation of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will pay an official friendly visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the second decade of October this year.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Lao Prime Minister Arrives on Visit 26 Sep

*LD2609110288 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 26 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, arrived in Moscow on a working visit today. He was invited by the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

### Joint Communique Issued on Visit of Vo Chi Cong

*PM2609113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 1, 4*

["Joint Communique on the Official Friendly Visit to the USSR of Vo Chi Cong, Member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the SRV Council of State"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Vo Chi Cong, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of State, paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from 19 through 24 September 1988 at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Vo Chi Cong laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Grave of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Vo Chi Cong and had cordial talks with him. The mutual desire of the CPSU and the CPV and of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples to develop and improve the relations of fraternal friendship and cohesion which have taken shape between the two countries and to strengthen cooperation in the international arena in the struggle for peace and the peoples' security was confirmed during the talks.

The chairman of the SRV Council of State had a meeting with representatives of the Soviet public in Moscow's House of Friendship.

The guest visited the Ukrainian SSR, where he familiarized himself with the work of the republic party organization and of state organs in implementing the CPSU policy of restructuring and participated in a Soviet-Vietnamese friendship rally in the city of Kiev.

A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented Vo Chi Cong with the Order of the October Revolution, which the high Vietnamese guest was awarded for his active participation in the revolutionary movement and his great and fruitful activity in strengthening all-around cooperation between the USSR and the SRV.

A.A. Gromyko held talks with Vo Chi Cong in an atmosphere of comradely frankness and mutual understanding.

Participating in the talks were:

On the Soviet side—G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.S. Kapto, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; N.F. Rubtsov, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat; G.V. Kireyev, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Asian Socialist Countries Administration; E.L. Kuzmin, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium International Relations Department; V.P. Parkhitko and V.I. Fedorov, assistants to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; and D.I. Kachin, USSR ambassador to the SRV;

On the Vietnamese side—Hoang Bich Son, chief of the CPV Central Committee Foreign Relations Department; Nguyen Viet Dung, member of the SRV Council of State and general secretary of the Council of State; Nguyen Di Nien, SRV deputy foreign minister; Dinh Van Niem, assistant to the chairman of the SRV Council of State; and Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV ambassador to the USSR.

The sides briefed each other on the activities of the USSR and SRV party and state organs in resolving the tasks of restructuring and in asserting socialist democracy and glasnost in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Vietnam.

A.A. Gromyko spoke about the efforts of the CPSU and all the Soviet Union's working people in implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum, which have given restructuring a new boost and raised to a new level activity in the practical implementation of its ideas and directions in all spheres of the life of Soviet society.

On behalf of the CPV, the Vietnamese state, and the SRV population Vo Chi Cong hailed the first important successes in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress course of restructuring, which was developed in the 19th all-union party conference decisions. He evaluated these successes as a source of great inspiration to the cause of renewal in Vietnam.

A.A. Gromyko emphasized that people in the Soviet Union take a profound comradely interest in the positive changes taking place in fraternal Vietnam and sincerely wish the Vietnamese people successes in implementing the policy of renewal advanced by the Sixth CPV Congress and concretized in the decisions of subsequent CPV Central Committee plenums aimed at stabilizing the socioeconomic situation step by step and developing the country. The Soviet side voiced confidence that the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the CPV created and tempered by Ho Chi Minh will overcome the existing difficulties and fulfill the tasks outlined by the party. A.A. Gromyko confirmed that solidarity and friendship with the Communists and people of Vietnam and the development of all-around cooperation with the SRV constitute the immutable line of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the chairman of the SRV Council of State expressed satisfaction with the level of development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations in all spheres. They pointed out that their distinguishing feature at the contemporary stage is growing dynamism, the mutual desire to enhance the efficiency of cooperation, and interest in studying each other's experience in resolving tasks of party and state building and economic, social, cultural, and other problems. Special emphasis was placed on the significance of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV, whose 10th anniversary will be celebrated in November of this year, for the steady strengthening of fraternal ties between the two countries.

A.A. Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong expressed the common opinion that the revolutionary processes taking place in the SRV and the USSR demand the speediest introduction of new forms of trade and economic relations, such as production collaboration, joint enterprises, and direct ties between ministries, associations, and enterprises.

The timely and complete fulfillment of the accords reached during the meetings between Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow in May 1987 and July 1988 is of great significance for enhancing the effectiveness of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation and shifting it to a level corresponding to the revolutionary tasks advanced by the CPSU and the CPV.

The conviction was expressed that imparting qualitatively new features to Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in the economic sphere will make a practical contribution to implementing the measures formulated by the fraternal countries to deepen socialist economic integration within the CEMA framework. A.A. Gromyko declared that the Soviet Union will take an active part in implementing the special comprehensive program of multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and Vietnam aimed at resolving the SRV's most urgent problems.

During the talks close attention was devoted to an exchange of the work experience of the organs of people's power and to the development of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and Vietnam. A.A. Gromyko provided information on the practical measures being taken in the USSR in accordance with the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum to improve Soviet society's political system, to ensure the sovereignty of the soviets of people's deputies as the basis of socialist statehood, and to create a socialist rule-of-law state.

There was a useful exchange of opinions on questions of enhancing the role of higher and local soviets in the life of society, developing the people's self-management, delimiting the functions of party and state organs, and galvanizing the legislative and control activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the SRV National Assembly and Council of State. An accord was reached on further strengthening cooperation between the standing commissions and groups of deputies of the top legislative organs in the USSR and the SRV and widening the exchange of work experience between them.

During the discussion of international problems the consistent increase in cooperation between the USSR and the SRV, including the two countries' parliaments, in efforts aimed at creating an all-embracing system of international peace and security, removing the threat of nuclear war, and developing the disarmament process was noted with satisfaction. Vo Chi Cong confirmed the SRV's full support for the important peace initiatives recently advanced by the Soviet Union and the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and advocated completing the work on preparing a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms while strictly observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and abiding by it for the agreed period of time.

The sides confirmed the firm adherence of the Soviet Union and Vietnam to the idea of turning the Asia and Pacific region into a region of peace, stability, good-neighborliness, and cooperation on the basis of joint efforts by all the states of the Asia and Pacific region.

Vietnam welcomes the constructive Soviet initiatives contained in the important speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Krasnoyarsk on 16 September this year and believes that these new proposals open up practical ways to create an all-embracing system of Asian security. In the Vietnamese side's opinion, a responsible, positive approach to the Soviet initiatives on the part of all the countries concerned would help to strengthen peace and stability in the Asia and Pacific region.

The Soviet Union supports the enterprising steps by Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia aimed at eliminating confrontation and tension in Southeast Asia and establishing relations of peace and cooperation in that region and believes that the seven-point proposals of the Lao People's Democratic Republic make a constructive contribution in this direction.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam express full solidarity with the PRK Government's policy of achieving national reconciliation and resolving the Cambodian problem by political means. They wholly support the PRK's seven-point proposals submitted at the informal meeting in Jakarta as a specific program for resolving the situation around Cambodia.

The sides noted the great significance of the informal meeting in Jakarta between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and the leaders of three Khmer opposition groupings, in whose second stage representatives of Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries participated. It was a new step in developing a dialogue with a view to finding paths to a political settlement which will accord with the Cambodian people's aspirations and help to establish peace and stability in Southeast Asia. Special significance is attached to the agreement reached by the meeting participants that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal and the removal of the threat of the restoration of the Pol Pot-ist regime of genocide are interlinked key aspects of a settlement.

A.A. Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong emphasized that it is important now to promote the implementation of the accords reached at the informal Jakarta meeting, as well as between Hun Sen and Prince N. Sihanouk, and to increase the efforts of the Nonaligned Movement and the countries concerned to achieve a political settlement and restore peace in Cambodia on the basis of national reconciliation.

Vietnam and the Soviet Union will continue actively to promote the creation of a favorable international atmosphere to settle the Cambodian problem. The sides believe that direct negotiations and the restoration of friendship between the SRV and the PRC could play an important role in strengthening peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region and in resolving the Cambodian problem. The USSR would welcome the restoration of good-neighborliness between Vietnam and China.

During the discussion of the situation in other parts of the world, note was taken of the need for the just settlement, without delay, of existing hotbeds of tension and conflicts by political means, through negotiation, on the basis of respect for every people's right to determine its own fate itself.

It was pointed out that the settlement process which has begun in Afghanistan, the cease-fire between Iraq and Iran, the talks between representatives of those two countries with the participation of the UN secretary general, and the undoubted positive changes in the search for a political solution to the Cambodian problem attest that the new political thinking with regard to the forms and methods of eliminating regional conflicts is acquiring increasingly tangible features. It is the vital cause of the peoples which advocate peace and security on the planet to consolidate and develop this trend.

While highly rating the conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, Vietnam and the Soviet Union state the need for their strict fulfillment by all the sides which signed them.

The SRV and the USSR approve of the DPRK's constructive efforts aimed at the country's peaceful independent unification by democratic means and at turning the Korean peninsula into a zone free of nuclear weapons.

The sides advocate an all-embracing settlement of the conflict in the Near East and the convening of an international conference to that end. They confirmed their support for the Palestinian people's just struggle for their legitimate rights, including the right to create their own state.

A.A. Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong declared their support for the just stance of Cuba and Angola at the talks on a political settlement in Namibia and voiced the hope that those talks will conclude with constructive results. They advocated the peaceful resolution of Central America's problems, came out in support of the good-will stand taken by the Republic of Nicaragua, and advocated the strict fulfillment of the Guatemala agreements.

The sides voiced solidarity with all peoples struggling for freedom, independence, and social progress and emphasized the increasing role of the nonaligned countries' movement in resolving the modern world's complex problems.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam rate highly the important role and active contribution of the Republic of India in resolving regional and worldwide problems in the interests of strengthening peace and stability in Asia and on the planet as a whole.

A.A. Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong advocated broader cooperation along parliamentary lines in resolving urgent international issues, including in the Asia and Pacific region.

The official friendly visit to the USSR of Vo Chi Cong, member of the CPV Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of State, has promoted the further deepening of collaboration and the strengthening of friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries and peoples and made an important contribution to the development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations.

## Further Reportage, Commentary on Burma Events

### Saw Maung Proposals to Opposition

*BK2409093288 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] According to reports from Rangoon, the Army is patrolling the deserted roads in the city of Rangoon. The soldiers entered homes and searched for weapons and urged the people to return to work. Massive strikes since the beginning of August have completely halted the country's economic life. While central markets in the city of Rangoon remained shut more small shops have opened, according to latest reports.

The opposition leaders—Aung San Suu Kyi, General Tin U, former defense minister, and Ex-Brigadier General Aung Gyi—held a meeting and discussed a letter from General Saw Maung, prime minister in the cabinet formed by the military.

Gen Saw Maung said in his letter that the Defense Forces do not intend to hold on to power for a long period and that power would be handed back once peace and tranquility prevailed in the country. He stated that the objective of the military government is to create conditions which would allow the holding of democratic multiparty general elections.

He assured that the elections would be fair and promised the opposition that they would be allowed access to public information media, including radio and television, during the campaign period prior to holding general elections. However, Aung San Suu Kyi announced yesterday that she has rejected his call on the opposition leaders to prepare for the general elections and to work hand in hand with the government to establish peace and tranquility in the country.

The opposition leaders denounced the government for using arms against the people who demonstrated and called on them to restore the situation existing in Burma prior to the military coup.

The government has banned all demonstrations and meetings. Aung San Suu Kyi announced that it is necessary to return the freedom of expression to the people.

According to press agency reports, soldiers are under order to fire at those who demonstrate in violation of the government's orders and those who loot and steal. It is known to all that cases of looting, theft, and provocations were on the rise during the public demonstrations and strikes prior to the military coup.

The opposition leaders called for direct negotiations although they have rejected Gen Saw Maung's proposals and called on the government not to resort to force against the people.

There are still prospects for a peaceful situation in Burma. The only way for the democracy to develop fully in the political process in the country is for both sides to give up force. Observers note that Burma's economic situation would worsen if the confrontation between the opposition and Gen Saw Maung's government increases.

At present, almost all factories and worksites and transportation sectors are at a standstill and foodstuffs and medicines have become very scarce. Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department has officially announced its decision to halt economic aid to Burma.

As THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper said the U.S. Administration's decision to halt its assistance reflects the method in which it responds to the situation in Burma which is to impose its influence on political events in Burma.

## Western Circles Exploit Situation

*BK2509125688 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[Commentary by Aleksandr Vladimirov]

[Text] Streets in Rangoon city have become relatively calmer with a scattering of people out on them. Road stalls are seen being reopened. Despite the quiet, there are fears and concerns deep down. Soldiers carry out house-to-house searches in several quarters looking for hidden weapons.

The Rangoon-Mandalay rail line has partially been reopened. Workers and public service personnel are seen returning to work in some parts of the city, but sporadic gunfire is also heard.

There are questions to be raised under such a situation. How will this long running troubled situation affect burma? How will the neighboring countries react to the situation in Burma? According to comments in Asian newspapers, the neighboring countries are concerned about the situation. But there is a common desire among them. They hope that the severe antagonism existing now will not further split the Burmese people into taking up arms and starting a civil war. The PATRIOT daily of India says: We cannot afford Burma turning into a second Lebanon because neighboring countries will be threatened when this happens. This is not because there will be a rise in armed insurgent activity along our common border but because the worsening situation in Burma will disrupt peace and stability in the whole region. Observers believe a potentially very dangerous tense situation will arise in the region.

If authorities fail to impose law and order and discipline, then militant hardliners who rely on violence will rear their heads again, says the PATRIOT. These people will seek help from foreign powers close to them and will succeed in isolating the central government to Rangoon area only.

The comments by this paper are not without reason. Everyone who wishes to see Burma remain a united and free country will understand this concern. It is common knowledge that some Western circles are already hinting about giving aid to the opposition leaders, and they are doing it under their so-called scheme of supporting the cause of democracy in Burma.

Since there is a dearth of democracy in Burma, there is nothing unnatural about the Burmese people wanting democracy. But as this is an affair of the Burmese people, it must be up to them to decide what sort of a democratic state they want. They must choose the path of democracy they prefer without the advice from the self-appointed Western advocates. How fast and how far Congressman Stephen Solarz went in this regard is known by all. Even though not everything was said openly, one can still remember Solarz, the expert on Asian affairs, making a comparison between Burma and the Philippines. He wanted U.S. to maintain its bases there and the U.S. monopoly companies to infiltrate the Philippines. Stephen Solarz made the reference in Congress regarding a new resolution on Burma in the Senate.

Official sources in the United States have repeatedly expressed their sympathy for the plight of the Burmese people. Of course, there is reason for them to sympathize. Continuous strikes have all but paralyzed the Burmese economy, and there is shortage of goods, foodstuffs, and medicines. But, the sympathy being shown by the United States is indeed strange—it has cut off aid to Burma. This is not very surprising, because the United States is trying to gain political concessions by exerting pressure on Burma. Whether the Burmese people face problems is not much of a concern to the United States.

The proof of this statement lies in the report by THE NEW YORK TIMES. It says openly that halting aid to Burma is but one of the many ways of influencing events

in that country. The other way is to support either an individual or a group of people. In other words, it is more of an attempt to find ways to interfere in the affairs of that country than to protect human rights.

France's L'HUMANITE's statement that well-known Western circles are exploiting the complex situation in Burma is indeed a noteworthy point. Whatever the reason, it is very certain that the use of force should not be permitted in the conflicts. Under such a situation, the Burmese people should be permitted to express their wishes freely.

General Saw Maung's government has said that it was necessary to set up an administrative system that reflects the wishes of the people. In the presence of foreign diplomats, Khin Nyunt, head of the Defense Services Intelligence, said the first duty of the government of the Union of Burma was the restoration of law and order and peace and tranquility and then to hold multiparty general elections, and that the Defense Forces do not want to hold on to power.

In the meantime, opposition forces have not yet said they agree to the government's proposal. But there are reports that they are trying to contact the government to make proposals.

Can the antagonism between the opposing forces in Burma be settled peacefully? Aleksandr Vladimirov says: The reply to that question should be answered with another question: Can that problem be solved by relying on weapons?

## Near East & South Asia

### Yazov Seen Off for India by Talyzin, Others

*LD2409175788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Army General Yazov, USSR minister of defense, left Moscow today for India on an official visit. He was seen off at the airport by Comrade Talyzin and other officials. [video shows Yazov with Talyzin at airport, then going up steps of plane.]

### TASS Reports 25 Sep Rocket Attack on Kabul

*LD2509123988 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[Text] Kabul September 25 TASS—An operation by the Afghan Armed Forces to eliminate rebel groups in Paghman District, Kabul Province, is nearing completion. In its course, extremists were driven out from areas used by them to deliver rocket attacks on the Afghan capital. Opposition detachments were lodged out from villages Qal'eh-ye Hakim, Kuti-ye Setara, Zarsheykh and Shawalkheil [placenames as received], the site of rebel strong points and depots. According to a report of BAKHTAR news agency, some 600 rebels were killed and wounded and a large amount of weapons, including rockets and artillery, were captured in Paghman. At the same time, efforts to completely neutralise the detachments of intractable opposition which shell the capital have failed so far. Three rocket shells exploded in the residential quarters of Kabul early today. Operations to eliminate armed opposition groups are also held in Paktia Province.

Clashes between rival rebel groups in Provinces Herat and Laghman left nearly 30 people killed. Fighting is most fierce between the detachments of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan.

Over the past week more than 400 Afghan refugees, natives of western and central areas of Afghanistan, returned through the border point Eslam-Qal'eh. Besides, 820 members of tribes Nurzai and Achekzai, living in the border areas, crossed from Iran into Afghanistan. Many returnees joined the self-defense detachments and tribal volunteer corps. Another 36 refugees returned from Pakistan to Konar Province.

"The People's Islamic Party of Afghanistan takes the side of the government as regards the policy of national reconciliation," the party's chairman, Abdul Sattar Sirat, told BAKHTAR news agency. He said that during the war many Afghans died and the death toll continued to rise. The Geneva agreements form the basis for the interAfghan settlement. Each true Moslem must, in accordance with the Koran and shari'a, to extend the hand of friendship and reconciliation to his former enemy. Those who act otherwise are enemies of their people who disregard the principles of Islam, the party leader said.

### 'Extremists' Shell Kabul; 16 Killed, 27 Injured

*LD2609111288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1048 GMT 26 Sep 88*

[Excerpt] Kabul, 26 Sep (TASS)—Extremists committed another crime against the Afghan people this morning. They shelled Kabul with "surface-to-surface" missiles, killing 16 people and injuring 27. Eleven buildings were destroyed.

The armed opposition also launched a missile attack on residential areas in the town of Pol-e 'Alam in Lowgar Province. Five people died and six were injured. The security forces carried out an operation aimed at eliminating the extremists. They seized missile-launchers, recoilless rifles, a mortar, and several machineguns. [passage omitted]

### Afghan 'White Book' Criticizes Pakistani Policy

*PM2309150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6*

[V. Shurygin article: "The Facts Show"]

[Text] The Afghan Foreign Ministry has published a "White Book"—"The Fulfillment of the Geneva Agreements Is in the Interests of All Mankind." It cites

documents testifying to the progress of national reconciliation in Afghanistan and consistent Afghan and Soviet fulfillment of the Geneva accords. At the same time the book expounds numerous facts about Pakistan's violation of these agreements and U.S. actions contributing to the continuation of the undeclared war against Afghanistan.

During the first month after the signing of the Geneva agreements in April 1988, the "White Book" says, an unprecedentedly large amount of various arms was shipped to the armed Afghan opposition based in Pakistani regions bordering on Afghanistan. According to eyewitness accounts, during 1 hour on 15 May 1988—the day the Geneva accords came into force—approximately 100 trucks carrying weapons arrived in the border village of Teri Mangal 137 km from Peshawar. At the beginning of May more than 40 motor vehicles loaded with mortars, firearms, and missiles with a range of more than 20 km arrived every day in the Afghan opposition camps from the Pakistani city of Parachinar.

Islamabad is resorting to various tricks to hide the Pakistani and U.S. arms shipments to the Afghan opposition. Sometimes arms transporters are camouflaged as commercial convoys. Thus, at the end of July, 20 motor vehicles loaded with weapons arrived in the Pakistani city of Miram Shah.

Training centers for the armed Afghan opposition are still operating on Pakistani territory. At the Andrak camp not far from Peshawar, the article cited points out, the Pakistani military are training more than 800 extremists to fire heavy weapons and lay mines. At the Yaru camp in Pakistan's Baluchistan Province extremists are trained to carry out terrorist and subversive operations in Kabul, Qandahar, and Jalalabad.

There are approximately 200 training centers overall on Pakistani territory. New ones have sprung up recently. After 10 July another center was set up in the Peshawar region and another in Akhungari.

The scale of the subversive operations carried out in violation of the Geneva agreements attracts attention. According to the "White Book's" data, in the 2 months since the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal the armed opposition carried out 2,914 military operations and 96 acts of sabotage and terror as a result of which 4,448 people were killed and 500 wounded. From May through August this year alone 200 missiles and 30 artillery shells were launched on Kabul. And 63 explosions were caused. Thus 154 people died and 250 were wounded. They include women and children.

It is not only a question of acts of military sabotage. The Pakistani authorities are impeding the work of UN observers and are virtually refusing to cooperate with them. Thus, from 4 to 8 June 1988 UN observers visited the cities of Peshawar and Parachinar with a view to verifying Afghanistan's complaints. However, they were forbidden from going to those areas where, according to official Afghan Foreign Ministry statements, convoys of weapons—which are supplied to armed antigovernmental groupings operating on Afghan territory—are formed.

The violations also take the form of blocking Afghan refugees' return. The Afghan leadership has determined routes for their return, and 23 hotels, 10 reception camps, and 27 centers for repatriating 10,000 people have been set up in the border regions. By the beginning of August 1988 more than 150,000 refugees had returned home. However, most of them have now been deprived of this opportunity.

The point is that, on the demand of the Afghan opposition in Peshawar, refugee camps have been surrounded with Pakistani troops on sentry duty together with armed Afghan bandit unit fighters. Moreover the Pakistani authorities have organized patrolling of the border regions and mining of the approach roads.

For instance, on 1 July 1988, 65 refugees tried to return to Afghanistan through the Matasangar Pass. With the knowledge of the Pakistani authorities, armed extremists opened fire on them. Some 26 people were killed and the rest were escorted back.

The "White Book" cites eyewitness accounts of the disastrous situation in the camps. A large proportion of the humanitarian aid from international organizations is nabbed by the "Alliance of Seven" and Pakistani officials. As a result many refugees suffer from hunger and are dying from epidemics. Thus, during 1 month 18 people died in the Alipur camp.

Despite the fact that the United States is the guarantor of the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, the "White Book" points out, it is not only continuing arms shipments to the Afghan insurgents but also inciting Pakistan to violate the Geneva accords.

At the beginning of July two U.S. citizens calling themselves "advisers" infiltrated Afghan territory in Lowgar Province where they organized training for extremists in carrying out "mass terror" operations. Approximately 400 insurgents are trained by U.S. instructors in the area of Swabi in Peshawar. In Qandahar Province U.S. instructors cooperate with Pakistanis. They often appear there with colleagues from other NATO countries—France and the FRG.

In mid-June eight foreign instructors from the United States, France, and Egypt arrived in Qandahar Province. Together with one of the ringleaders of the counterrevolution they prepared an attack on the province's administrative center and Qandahar airport. The day before a Muslim holiday, on 23 July, Qandahar came under bombardment.

According to the testimony of THE NEW YORK TIMES itself, the day before the signing of the Geneva agreements, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz assured members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Administration's firm intention to continue aid to the Afghan opposition. He stressed that Washington will increase the quantity and boost the quality of the weapons shipped to them.

That's not all. The "White Book" cites a long list of crimes committed by the armed opposition against the civilian population in 1987-1988 and the damage inflicted on the Afghan economy by the "undeclared war."

The facts expounded in the "White Book" evidently attest to flagrant violations of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan with U.S. support. Yet these accords are seen by the world public as a model for settling regional conflicts. They are seen as a touchstone used to ascertain who advocates the easing of tension in deeds, not merely in words. As for the parties to the accords themselves, the fulfillment of their pledges serves as an indicator of the reliability of each of them as a negotiating partner. What impression can arise about people who violate an agreement that they have hardly just signed?

Together with the facts cited in the "White Book," the scandalous propaganda campaign mounted against Afghanistan attracts attention. The hullabaloo raised by Islamabad around the alleged "violations by Afghan aircraft of Pakistani airspace" has been picked up in the West.

The tone of the anti-Afghan statements and the simultaneous play given to them by the Western mass media prompts the thought that tension is deliberately being created on the Pakistani-Afghan border. Despite the injections of weapons the armed activity of the Afghan opposition is still not producing the desired effect. Are Islamabad's hotheads about to slide toward direct and extensive involvement in aggression? Is the slander campaign not as it were preparing public opinion, for instance, for Pakistani Air Force air attacks on targets on Afghan territory to support the Afghan opposition?

In light of these facts Washington must be regarded differently as a guarantor of the Geneva accords. It must be noted that its activity is guaranteeing nothing, quite the reverse.

One gets the impression that, seeing the Afghan opposition's inability to achieve its aims, the U.S. Administration is also not averse to inciting Pakistan into direct confrontation with Afghanistan while making Kabul shoulder all the blame for this.

Naturally I would like this impression to prove unfounded. The Geneva accords are too serious for them to be the subject of a game.

## 'Deterioration' in Afghan Situation Viewed

*LD2509210688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1450 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Stanislav Kondrashov]

[Text] We turn now to Afghanistan, from where the Soviet units are being withdrawn, and where the situation remains extremely tense. We will ask Mikhail Leshchinskiy about this. [video shows Kondrashov turning to a television monitor on the desk beside him, Leshchinskiy standing beside a map of Afghanistan]

[Kondrashov] Good day and hello!

[Leshchinskiy] Good day, Stanislav Nikolayevich. I'm pleased to hear you.

[Kondrashov] Right, well, just a few days ago Mr Sharq, the Afghan prime minister, was here in Moscow for an official visit. A long-term program was signed on economic, technological, and commercial cooperation in the period up until the year 2000. The year 2000—we are looking quite a long way ahead, and it sounds all very well, but people here are wondering what will happen tomorrow, what will happen in a month, or a year, in Afghanistan. Perhaps you could answer that question, and in particular tell us how the outcome of the Sharq visit is being seen in Kabul.

[Leshchinskiy] Well, I should say right away that the outcome to the visit is being received here with understanding, and generally favorably. Important agreements were reached, and, moreover, it is being noted that new features of our economic cooperation have appeared. In the first place, cooperation with private entrepeneurs is being expanded to the point of our country providing large credits; joint enterprises are being set up, an extensive exchange of goods. Our gratuitous aid should be more tangible, let us say. The situation at present is such that, unfortunately, the mass of Afghans do not know where the aid comes from because it is poorly organized and not infrequently becomes a target for what is simply overt speculation. I think this is a sound basis for the future development of economic—and of course, political—relations.

[Kondrashov] If we take specifically the present military and political situation, then how do you see that?

[Leshchinskiy] You and I spoke to one another a month ago, and in this past month the trend has continued—has intensified even—of a deterioration in the military-political situation in the country. Suffice it to say that to the present day there is not a single province of the 32 in Afghanistan that is completely under the control of the state regime. Moreover, in the past month, Bamian Province was captured by the armed opposition, along with the provincial center; the important strategic point of Spin Baldak, on the border with Pakistan, in the south

of the country, in the region of Qandahar, was captured, and continues to be held by representatives of the armed opposition. Therefore, the trend toward a deterioration in the overall situation is continuing. [video shows Leshchinskiy turning to the map and pointing to the southern border of Afghanistan]

[Kondrashov] I would like to touch on Kabul in particular. Barely a day goes by without us hearing of rocket attacks on Kabul. And, of course, one might guess that these are claiming victims, not merely among the civilian population, but also are causing definite psychological and political damage by demonstrating the opportunities of the armed opposition. Why can these rocket attacks not be nipped in the bud?

[Leshchinskiy] Well, to start with, a sad statistic: today is 25 September, and already 14 attacks on Kabul—rocket attacks—have been recorded. [sentence as heard] So you can see: it's not every day, but almost every day. Upwards of 30 of Kabul's civilians have been killed and more than 100 have been wounded. Moreover, what is particularly troubling is that among the dead are 9 women and 13 children.

Kabul is very close to the border with Pakistan, just a little more than 200 kilometers as the crow flies. And here in Pakistan the main camps and bases are concentrated. Of course, arms flood in from here—very modern arms. The United States has started supplying to the Kabul region rockets capable of reaching a target up to 20 kilometers away. There are mountains around Kabul—Kabul lies in a valley. It is very difficult to find the mountain locations of these rockets, which frequently are operated on a time switch. They are brought up at night, set to a particular time, and the people leave. How can they be spotted?

[Kondrashov] Mikhail Borisovich, how are the Soviet troops deployed at the moment?

[Leshchinskiy] Let's have a look at the map again. The locations of the Soviet garrisons that remain for the time being are shaded in red, here. There in the east, and there in the west. As before, they are located along the most important, vitally important roads, and in this time their deployment has not changed. It has not changed. But I should note here that on 15 November, in line with the Geneva accords, the second stage in the withdrawal of our troops begins, and will last—in complete accordance with the agreements—until 15 February. And so, in November, the stationing of the troops will start to change, and the troops will begin moving north, both in the west and in the east.

[Kondrashov] Thank you very much! You have given us the picture nicely. [video shows map with shaded area in the west running from the Soviet border, through Herat to Shindand; shaded area in the east stretches from Hayraton to Pol-e Khomri, and then south to Kabul]

## Military Denies Reported Capture of Paghman

*LD2309154088 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Competent Soviet military circles have assessed as "yet another lie" a report, which came in from Islamabad, saying that "forces of armed Afghan opposition captured the town of Paghman, 20 kilometres west of Kabul".

The fabrication, stemming from pronouncements of one of the leaders of "the Alliance of Seven" in Peshawar has been spread by Western mass media. Seemingly, to lend the fabrication a semblance of likelihood it has even been reported that about 100 servicemen of Kabul Armed Forces were killed in the course of the fighting for the town, while the irreconcilables allegedly lost one man killed and 25 wounded.

This is far from being the first fabrication, and, probably, not the last one. Pieces of such misinformation invariably appear in Islamabad, Peshawar, Quetta. But even a superficial check-up shows that this is a deliberate lie, being absolutely at variance with reality. Such were the reports on the seizure by armed opposition units of provincial centres of Jalalabad, Qandahar, the small towns of Qalat and Spin Buldak—all of them have been captured by those units only in the imagination of the"Peshawar Seven" leaders, who planned to move the residence of the "provisional government" from Pakistan to one of these towns.

Also false were the reports on "the return of Soviet troops to Qandahar" and "urgent information" on Afghan planes' bombing Pakistani villages deep in Pakistan's territory.

All these reports are frauds. The Pakistani side is stubbornly against forming an international mixed commission to see into such assertions, as it was proposed by Kabul and Moscow. U.N. observers were not allowed to visit the place of action under far-fetched pretexts. In a bid to lend some semblance of likehood to their fabrications, the Pakistani authorities, the press reports, gave instructions to most trusted opposition groups, to find on Afghanistan's territory fragments of Afghan warplanes and to secretely take them to Pakistan to help Islamabad fabricate "proofs" on Afghan planes allegedly shot down in Pakistan's air space.

As to Paghman, according to official information, Afghan Armed Forces have been waging for a fortnight now operations to liquidate armed opposition formations. Over 300 extremists were killed and a big quantity of weapons was captured.

Thus, the report on the town's having been occupied by opposition forces has also proved to be false.

Obvious are the aims of these fabrications—the leaders of "the Peshawar Seven" are trying to bolster up the spirit of the mercenaries to make them step up combat actions against the Kabul authorities. But is it worth spreading such frauds the world over? They do not promote peace and tranquility on the long-suffering Afghan soil.

**Television Notes Afghan Minesweeping Operations**
*LD2309152788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by M. Leshchinskiy in Afganistan: "Truth and Lies About Mine Warfare"]

[Text] [Leshchinskiy] To get a true idea of how Afghan land is littered with mines—mines that are by no means Soviet-produced—it is only necessary to travel a few dozen kilometers along even the least-important road. In these places every convoy must be led by a special subunit of sappers to ensure safety of movement. The way along the road is led by a mine-clearing combat vehicle or an ordinary tank with heavy rollers suspended in front, which literally compress the thick layer of soft dust that can conceal an antitank mine or a landmine. [video shows tank moving along dirt road; nine soldiers on foot crossing terrain with dog]

In the event of an explosion under the rollers or the discovery of danger, a detail of sappers sets about its work with a specially trained dog and various kinds of mine-seeking probes. However, the sapper's main weapon is experience. He cannot fail to pay attention to the conduct of people in a village along the road, a broken bough or chance stone or piece of wire on the roadway. Any of these signals may be followed by a shout of alarm from the comrades walking ahead: Mine! Then it needs to be either rendered harmless or else blown up. [video shows six soldiers on foot accompannied by dog; video cuts to Leshchinskiy interviewing Lieutenant Colonel M.T. Levnev with mines lying in front of them on the ground]

Comrade Lieutenant Colonel, who has produced these mines and what is their significance?

[Levnev] Well, take these two mines. They are British-made MK-7 mines. They were manufactured during World War II.

[Leshchinskiy] Judging by appearance they look to have been in position for several years. Is that so?

[Levnev] Yes, they have been in place here for something like 1 and ½ to 2 years. This mine is Italian-made. It is a mine well-known to everyone and it has already become here, so to speak...

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] Sorrowfully well-known, let us say.

[Levnev] ...Sorrowfully well-known. Yes, let us put it that way. This one is a U.S.-made plastic mine. It is made, of course, so that it cannot be located by a mine-detector or by a dog.

[Leshchinskiy] I have a further question for you. It is a secret to no one that we, too, have mined certain localities. How are our sappers acting with regard to Soviet minefields?

[Levnev] As you know, it was not really on our own initiative that we carried out mining operations here. It was at the request of the Afghans. We provided them with cover for installations and roads. Now the time has come when we are starting to eliminate these minefields. If we are leaving minefields, we are handing them over along with documentation. A record is compiled in both languages, and commissions are being set up on their part and on ours.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

**Botha, Chissano Talks on Renamo Pondered**
*LD2309220088 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 18 Sep 88*

["Southern Africa: Panorama of Opinions" program, presented by Igor Potovskiy and Mikhail Dugin]

[Excerpts] [Potovskiy] The recent visit by the South African president to Mozambique has been described by many observers as a landmark in the region's history. During the talks with the Mozambique president, Pieter Botha renounced support for Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. According to Botha, the concrete outcome of his visit will also be translated into the development of economic cooperation between the two countries. All this is important, especially in the regional context, because of the quadripartite talks on normalizing the situation in Namibia.

[Dugin] Excuse me, Igor, but how can such parallels be made? And what does South Africa aim to do in the region?

[Potovskiy] I would say that the aim is to maintain its power. For this the economic dependence of the region's countries on South Africa is necessary. The independence of these countries inevitably leads to increased isolation and ultimately the crumbling of South Africa's economic and, naturally, political system. In this situation the policy of constant destabilization in the region has been the best policy for South Africa for over a year. But this is only one facet of the issue, since there are also the problems of the regime's internal security. South Africa's desire to create a buffer zone around it is much spoken of.

[Dugin] But it does not seem to protect it from foreign aggression.

[Potovskiy] No. There is the blockade of internal opposition from the ANC [African National Congress]. In reality South Africa's strategy is quite simple. The military's hard line is aimed at forcing the Frontline States to stop supporting the ANC through destabilization—that is, through direct aggression or support for the puppet groups UNITA [National Union for Total Independence of Angola] in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique. In this event, according to Pretoria's calculations, the politicians will be able to force a weakened ANC to accept the conditions of an internal political settlement imposed by the government. [passage omitted]

[Dugin] Despite South Africa not abiding by the Nkomati accord, it is seen as a turning point in South Africa's policy toward and relations with the countries of the region in general.

[Potovskiy] Yes, but I would like to answer this in an inverse order.

[Dugin] All right.

[Potovskiy] The West in general views Mozambique as the key country in the region. Several statements were made on this at various levels (?some time ago). At the time the West sought in general to make Mozambique a type of testing ground for its policy in Africa. I think that the time since the Nkomati accord gives grounds to say the same in relation to South Africa. It is now often said that South Africa is inclined to meet the pledges which—speaking figuratively—will take the wind out of the international companies' pressure campaign on Pretoria, and then delay their implementation or partial implementation, although not renouncing them. But this entire mechanism which can be seen so clearly in South Africa's stances at the quadripartite talks, for example, was patently shown for the first time in South Africa's attitude toward the Nkomati accord [words indistinct]. For South Africa the best outcome to the current talks would be an agreement forcing Angola to stop supporting the ANC. [passage omitted]

Relatively recently, you will recall, the former Renamo delegate to Western Europe, Paulo Oliveira, said that South Africa does not in any way resign itself to a united black state at its borders, whether it be a communist or capitalist state. Do you recall?

[Dugin] Yes, I read this in some newspaper.

[Potovskiy] It had Mozambique in mind. But just as the South African attitude toward Renamo is becoming more acute—as did the situation over the issue of independence to Namibia, which the South African military have no intention of leaving—Pretoria is beginning to show decreasing interest in the formation of a coalition government in Angola with UNITA participation. It is in this area that the struggle between the United States and South Africa over control of Renamo and UNITA has increased. But coming back to the first part of your question; Mozambique is stressing the importance of the Nkomati accord. It must be pointed out that the present meeting between the Mozambique and South African presidents was not about an Nkomati II, but the implementation of the clauses of the treaty itself. The Mozambique leadership was always sure that sooner or later the real substance of the treaty would be guaranteed. As Botha's visit shows, this is possibly the case.

[Dugin] But what forced South Africa to change its positions so suddenly? Have Mozambique's positions changed? Can one speak of this on the basis of the fact that President Chissano declared that apartheid should not necessarily be an obstacle in relations between South Africa and Mozambique? Or is this due to the fact that Mozambique has entered the IMF and its economy has undergone considerable changes? Or is it that the policy of clemency toward Renamo members has played a role?

[Potovskiy] I would say that the answer lies not so much with Mozambique as with South Africa. It is impossible to guarantee the stability of the regime through exclusively military means. Obviously. The war in Angola, aid to UNITA, and troops in Namibia annually cost South Africa 2 billion Rand. Besides this, there is Renamo, which is incapable of existing on its own. It is also necessary to maintain the giant [word indistinct] national security apparatus. This requires an enormous sum of money. At the same time the economic situation in South Africa is far from ideal. [passage omitted]

President Botha speaks about a second step after the Nkomati accord, of a bright future in relations between the two countries. Literally on the eve of Botha's visit, the Mozambique news agency, AIM, pointed out that this meeting could help Botha to save South Africa from the political bankruptcy that the country's military adventurism is pushing it toward. This is why the president must take advantage of the possibility of completely renouncing aid to Renamo.

[Dugin] As a matter of fact, President Botha said this. But what about later? AIM points out, for example, that certain circles in South Africa would like to use these talks only so that world public opinion will get the impression that Pretoria is not isolated. [passage omitted]

[Potovskiy] [Words indistinct]. If the only outcome is that everything will be as before, with the only difference being that Renamo bases are transferred from South Africa to, let us say, Malawi, where Botha went soon after his meeting with President Chissano, confidence in South Africa as a partner in the talks will be completely undermined—including in the quadripartite talks. (?This turn) of events can only mean that the infamous line of the South African military has overcome realism. In this case it is very difficult to hope for real progress in finding a solution to the Namibian problem and in the process of a regional settlement in general.

[Dugin] As you know, the news agencies commenting on the talks between the South African and Mozambique presidents called attention to the details: President Botha presented President Chissano with a Krugerrand; during the meeting, South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan was always a few steps behind the presidents.

[Potovskiy] The Krugerrand as a symbol of the new economic relations, and the South African defense minister being (?finally) on a secondary level is a symbolic concept. A lot in the region in general will depend on whether or not the defense minister was this time a few steps ahead.

## East Europe

### Yazov Greets Bulgaria's Dzhurov on Army Jubilee

*PM2609103188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 First Edition p 1*

[USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov anniversary greetings to Bulgarian National Defense Minister Dobri Dzhurov]

[Text] To Comrade Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of national defense.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the personnel of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I send you and all Bulgarian servicemen fraternal combat greetings and cordial congratulations to mark the 44th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army.

The Bulgarian Armed Forces in close cooperation with the friendly armies of the Warsaw Pact states vigilantly and reliably guard the socialist gains of our peoples. We note with satisfaction that the combat friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Armed Forces and the Bulgarian People's Army are constantly developing and growing stronger.

On this day I wish you and all Bulgarian People's Army servicemen new successes in resolving the tasks set by the 13th BCP Congress of further strengthening Bulgaria's defense capability in the interests of all the countries of the socialist community.

With communist greetings

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

### Ceausescu To Visit USSR in Early October

*LD2409141888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1354 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow, 24 Sep (TASS)—It has been officially announced here that Nicolae Ceaucescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, will pay an official, friendly visit to the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the first 10 days of October 1988.

### Solomentsev, Delegation Continue Romanian Visit

*PM2609085988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Meaningful Encounters"]

[Text] Craiova, 22 Sep—Today the delegation of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, which is in Romania at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee, visited Craiova, the administrative center of Dolj Judet, an industrially developed district with diversified agriculture. Forty-one of its 56 industrial enterprises are of republic significance. At a meeting leaders of the RCP Judet Committee and the Judet party collegium briefed the Soviet guests on the progress of the fulfillment of the plans for the district's socioeconomic development by the Judet's Communists and working people.

The head of the delegation briefed them on the progress of restructuring in the USSR and the revolutionary transformations in Soviet society which are being implemented in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. He dwelt in detail on questions of the profound economic reform, the social reorientation of the economy, and improved management structure. M.S. Solomentsev emphasized that the Soviet people actively support the policy of restructuring and that the processes of democratization and expansion of glasnost are irreversible.

A meaningful conversation was held on questions pertaining to the style and forms of work of the two fraternal parties' control organs. Much of the discussion was devoted to practices used in analyzing letters and statements relating to the observance of party discipline and ethics and the adoption of concrete measures in cases of violation. Questions of the examination of appeals relating to Communists' personal matters and the educational impact of disciplinary measures were discussed specifically.

The delegation visited the "Electroputere" plant, one of Romania's biggest electrical equipment industry enterprises. Workers and engineering and technical staff at this enterprise, which has the latest equipment, have mastered the production of around 50 new types of output over the last 2 years alone. The plant exports 35 percent of its output to more than 40 countries of the world, including all the CEMA countries. The plant supplies the USSR with complete 250 kilowatt transformer substations, oil-immersed power transformers, and other equipment. At a meeting with representatives

of the labor collective council, a thorough and committed discussion was held on ways to further expand cooperation between the "Electroputere" plant and similar Soviet enterprises in the production of electrical equipment. It was emphasized that the deepening of specialization and production sharing, establishment of direct contacts, and development of other progressive forms of cooperation must be tackled more boldly on the basis of mutual advantage.

In the afternoon the delegation visited the Bailesti unified state and cooperative agro-industrial council. Acquainting themselves with the work of the council in pooling the efforts of the economic units that make it up, members of the delegation inquired about labor organization, distribution of income, and the work of the unified party organization.

## Biryukova Continues Meetings, Tours in CSSR

### Received by Jakes

*LD2409102488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Prague today CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes received Comrade Biryukova, who is in Czechoslovakia on a working visit. In the course of their cordial and friendly conversation they discussed certain topical matters related to the further development of links between the CPCZ and the CPSU ensuing from the congress decisions of the two fraternal parties and the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the latest CPCZ Central Committee plenum. There was an exchange of information on progress in restructuring the economic mechanism, political system, and other areas of public life in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and on the experience and tasks of party work in implementing social policy. [video shows Jakes handing flowers to Biryukova; conversations at a table]

### Visits Bratislava Market

*LD2409104888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; S. Andreyev video report from Bratislava]

[Text] This modern building in one of Bratislava's squares is the city's covered market. Good surroundings have been created here for those who wish to sell the produce of their garden or vegetable plot. However, there are controls—on both the quality and prices of the goods. Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova was shown around the market. The market in Bratislava deals mainly in vegetables, fruit, and flowers. There is no dairy or meat produce, because private farmers cannot hope to compete with the state in those areas and the produce in the shops is more abundant, better, and cheaper. But state enterprises are up against serious competition in the consumer goods shops from cooperatives. Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova spent most of the day acquainting herself with their work. She visited one of the workshops of the Union of Production Cooperatives of Czechoslovakia and toured an exhibition of their products. [video shows Biryukova looking at fruit and vegetable market, visiting cooperative and examining its products]

[Begin Biryukova recording] I think the cooperatives here are doing great things. They provide a considerable supplement to the industrial goods manufactured by state enterprises, thereby giving the customer a wider choice. We are trying to study the experience gained by our friends very attentively to make use of it in developing cooperatives in our country. [end recording]

Comrade Biryukova arrived back in Moscow from Prague today.

## Polish Party Official Concludes Visit to USSR

*PM2609103588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report under "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] W. Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who visited the USSR on a working visit, left Minsk for home on 22 September.

While in Minsk he had talks at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and visited a number of the city's industrial enterprises.

## Paper Scores U.S. Support for 'Solidarity'

*PM2409135188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent L. Toporkov Warsaw report: "Blackmail: Psychological Warfare Against People's Poland"]

[Text] The U.S. President, it cannot be denied, is a busy man and his life is timetabled down to the last minute. He nevertheless found time to receive Polish citizen Janusz Onyszkiewicz in the White House. For what is this citizen well known in Poland? Perhaps just for one thing—his hatred for the people's, socialist system, this hatred taking the form of deeds that evoke approbation in the West.

Radio Free Europe which is financed out of the U.S. Federal Budget and which is located in Munich, choking with emotion, gave an account of this event. What did the two sides—the high official, and the private citizen—talk about? About the situation in Poland, of course. Moreover, as the radio station recounted, using the words of an emissary of the illegal "Solidarity" organization, Ronald Reagan promised that he would exert pressure on the authorities of the Polish People's Republic in order to incline them in the direction of dialogue

with the "representatives of the public." According to another radio station, Voice of America, Onyszkiewicz, when talking to the President about Eastern Europe, and consequently about Poland, observed that the United States cannot of course ignore this problem.

And so, the Polish newspapers write in this connection, the guest was received by the President as a representative of society as a whole. The situation is presented in such a manner as if the "authorities" are one thing and "society" is something else. The familiar propagandist division into "we" and "you" takes place. Society, it is said, is earnestly seeking one thing, and the authorities are seeking something quite different. Furthermore, the "self-appointed ambassador of Polish society" is asking the head of an alien state to interfere in the internal affairs of his own state and at the same time other states of Eastern Europe, insofar as they constitute a "problem." Here the guest of the White House speaks with gratitude about the economic sanctions applied against the Polish People's Republic by the United States. They, he says, are very useful to his homeland, to the Polish people, who rejoice that considerable damage has at last been inflicted on the Polish economy....

Such is an example of the politico-propagandist blackmail practiced by circles in the West that are hostile toward People's Poland. What is extremely important is that this is done with the help of certain Polish citizens, and moreover, with their own hands. The same Onyszkiewicz is evidently extremely satisfied that his efforts have brought so much harm to the country in which he lives and that he has encountered such prestigious support. He is convinced that all means are good if they cause economic and moral harm to Poland.

This perverted philosophy of "the worse, the better" has found a practical application for many years now and it constitutes a component of the psychological warfare unleashed by certain Western forces against socialist Poland and, consequently, against the entire socialist community. The aims of the offensive are well known: the destabilization of life in the country. As TRYBUNA LUDU wrote recently, the main directions of this destructive work are considered in the West to be: the undermining of ideological unity in the opponent's country and the augmentation of the numbers of one's supporters on the territory of that country; the undermining of people's trust in their leadership; the demoralization of society thanks to the sowing of sentiments of hopelessness, defeatism, and pessimism; and the blocking of industrial production. As one of the leaders of the underground organization "Solidarity" expressed it, matters have to be conducted in the direction of a "cold civil war."

And this business is being conducted with all possible means and methods. For instance, what does the blocking of industrial production mean? Well, this means nothing else but strikes, especially sit-in strikes whereby a handful of people go on strike and the vast majority are deprived of the opportunity to work. The main thing in the strikes is not the demands, as is thought to be the case, for increased wages (this serves merely as a pretext and as a cover), but rather the demand for political concessions. By introducing disorganization and distrubance into the economy, the extremists blackmail the authorities and, by hook or by crook, strive to secure the authorities' consent to the legalization of "Solidarity." Having taken off all the brakes, including moral constraints, the "ultras" are dragging out of the archives from the early eighties slogans of the kind "All or nothing," "Let's go for broke," and "The authorities must be brought to their knees." The not unknown A. Michnik put it in the clearest possible terms in an interview with a Spanish newspaper: "What we want today is a Poland without communism."

And how to achieve such a Poland? Everything here is also clear: The Communists have to be hanged! Not so long ago a gathering of the hawks from illegal "Solidarity" took place in St. Brigida's Church, that nest of extremism and antisocialist provocations. They discussed their stances in connection with the idea of a roundtable proposed on behalf of the government and which is being organized by no means under pressure from the U.S. President but for the purpose of broadening the platform of national accord so as to discuss topical problems of the development of the country with the participation of representatives of all strata of Polish society. However, those assembled in the church rejected compromises and instead put forward ultimatums threatening a new wave of strikes if their conditions were not met.

After the service at which the priest C. Jankowski delivered, as is his habit, an extremely aggressive sermon, containing crude antigovernment attacks, (he has long been calling not for love, but for hatred), several hundred "believers" staged a noisy street procession which the Munich radio station liked very much. They cried: "Hang Communists on the trees in place of leaves!"

Such are the "pluralists." And why should they have qualms if even the London TIMES which has a reputation for being a respectable newspaper, declares, through the mouth of its commentator B. Levin, that if he were to go to Poland, it would only be in order "to attend the hanging of General Jaruzelski." Never before, the Polish press observes, has that newspaper stooped so low.

An "international division of labor" exists: The illegal structures of "Solidarity" organize disturbances in Poland and all kinds of scandals, even outright sabotage, while certain Western newspapers, agencies, and radio stations paint a picture of these in vivid detail for the entire world. Here too, everything is clear: It is necessary to maintain in the awareness of the world public the image of Poland as a chronically sick man. If he is sick, it means he has to be cured.

And the physicians respond with alacrity. The U.S. Congress has increased to $2 million its aid to the internal opposition in Poland, that is, its people in another sovereign state. The Polish newspapers have published a PAP report from Washington that talks of the procedures specified by the United States for itself. Any activity in that country [the United States] paid for from outside must be recorded officially and people carrying out this activity must be officially registered as "agents of an alien state." But what is good for oneself is assessed differently when it is a question of socialist countries. Those selfsame "supporters of ours on alien territory" are recruited using the money that pours in from the United States. As TRYBUNA LUDU wrote, L. Walesa appealed to the West for broader financial support. He needs this money to pay the "wages" of those who have participated in the illegal strikes, and who consequently, received nothing at the enterprises. An appeal was also addressed to potential strikers—"never fear as regards money, money is no problem."

Recently the mass media in the West have abounded in statements by illegal Solidarity figures: Geremek in the Paris paper LE MONDE, Onyszkiewicz in an interview with REUTER, Kuron and Maziarski for Radio Free Europe.... They demand, threaten, and try to intimidate the Polish authorities. If you do not meet our ultimatums, expect strikes. Michnik goes even further: Watch out, lest you have occasion to watch the spectacle of burning party committees... Against this background the demand for "trade union pluralism" seems an innocent game, even though everyone here realizes that what lurks behind it is a desire to legalize "Solidarity." If, of course, it once again surfaces. No one has forgotten yet how intolerant it is and how it crushed everything around itself.

But blackmail will not work here. The political and state leadership of Poland, without any prompting from the sidelines, is carrying out a policy of reforms, of the further democratization of society, of the expansion of dialogue, and of the platform of national accord. The following principle is being put into effect: We are not interested in who comes from where. The important thing is what he brings with him. Everything constructive that promotes the improvement of life is being adopted. In mid-October the first roundtable meeting will take place. A meeting without any prior conditions for its participants and without any restriction on the topics to be discussed.

## PRAVDA Reports on PZPR Politburo Session

*PM2309133588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7*

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Politburo Defines Party's Tasks"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep—The course of profound reforms in the economy and the state on the basis of the recent PZPR Central Committee plenum's decisions is the party's principled line, a report on a PZPR Central Committee Politburo session held here stresses. After discussing a report on the preparation for the roundtable meeting, the Politburo confirmed the will and determination to consistently implement the idea of national accord and create the conditions for a fundamental expansion of the sphere it embraces. This is a great and historic opportunity to strengthen the country and ensure Poland's successful development. This cause is harmed and our partners' confidence jeopardized by any attempts to decide the outcome in advance, to inflame emotions during various meetings, and to spread a distorted picture of the course of the talks with the help of the foreign media. The Politburo expressed the hope that such actions would end and that they would not succeed in hindering the businesslike dialogue about the model of the functioning of the socialist state and social life, the economy, and the trade union movement.

The trade union movement is strengthening its positions in the state's sociopolitical system, the session stressed. It is increasingly successfully representing and defending working people's interests, making an ever increasing contribution to the solution of the important problems facing working people and the state, and is a competent partner of the organs of power. Trade unions play a special role in ensuring fair conditions of work and pay and in settling conflict situations. The further improvement of the trade union movement's model and structure is of great importance for it now and the updating of the law on trade unions is designed to help that.

The Politburo examined the preliminary political-organizational and program guidelines for the holding of the national conference of PZPR delegates. During the period of preparation for it, party organizations and committees must find complete understanding and support within the party's ranks for the political line of reform in the economy and state, effectively help improve the working people's living and working conditions, and draw attention to the most important problems of the future. These should be the dominant themes in the individual conversations which are being held everywhere with all party members and candidate members before the conference.

There was an examination of proposals on changes in the party's cadre policy arising from the PZPR Central Committee plenum's decisions. When appointing and recalling leading cadres, party organizations and committees must facilitate the promotion of the best workers regardless of party membership, create the conditions for their activity and development, and ensure social monitoring of the effectiveness of their work. The Politburo proposed that the "main principles of cooperation between the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party in implementing cadre policy" be brought into line with the current realities of the state and the economy before this year is over.

### Aboimov Meets Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister

*PM2609085188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Hungarian consultations were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 21 September, in which USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.P. Aboimov and Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister I. Oszi took part. S. Rajnai, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic to the USSR, also took part. There was an exchange of opinions on a broad range of international questions.

## West Europe

### Further Reportage on Vorotnikov Visit to FRG

#### Meets With Kohl, Genscher

*PM2609104788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Sep 88 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Visit Continuing"]

[Text] Bonn, 22 Sep—Urgent problems of East-West relations and of the strengthening of international security, as well as questions of the development of bilateral relations between the USSR and the FRG, were discussed in the course of a meeting held today between V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, who is here on a visit, and FRG Chancellor H. Kohl.

The Soviet guest conveyed to the FRG head of government a verbal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

V.I. Vorotnikov briefed the chancellor on the large-scale transformations being implemented in the USSR and the democratization of sociopolitical life and pointed out that this process is opening up broad opportunities for deepening cooperation between the Soviet Union and other countries, including the FRG. Restructuring also finds expression in the new dynamism of Soviet foreign policy, as is newly evidenced by the important initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk a few days ago.

V.I. Vorotnikov pointed out that a great deal in European and world politics, in the matter of creating a common European home, depends on the state of Soviet-West German relations. It is from precisely this viewpoint that the USSR approaches the FRG chancellor's upcoming official visit to the Soviet Union.

This visit and also the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's return visit to the FRG, H. Kohl pointed out, are called upon to open a new chapter in relations between our two countries. The FRG Government, he emphasized, advocates the broadening of bilateral relations in very different spheres, including the economy, science, technology, culture, and humanitarian issues. It intends to help these relations to acquire a new quality and usher in a long period of peaceful cooperation.

The meeting took place in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere.

Questions of strengthening European security, the contribution the USSR and the FRG can make to this process, and also the prospects for the development of bilateral relations were at the center of attention during talks between V.I. Vorotnikov and FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher. The talks confirmed both sides' realistic approach to the questions discussed and their mutual desire to proceed further along the path of deepening broad cooperation in the interests of the two countries' peoples.

The unanimous opinion was expressed that favorable opportunities exist for successfully concluding the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE participant states, drawing up the mandate of the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals, and beginning talks on this problem already this year.

H.-D. Genscher stressed the need to strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation between the countries of East and West in all spheres, including that of international security. He advocated the development of all-around ties between the FRG and the Soviet Union and their enrichment with new forms.

The processes taking place in the USSR, the minister continued, are arousing great interest not only among the West German public but also among senior political figures in the FRG. No one is indifferent to what is going on in our neighbor's country, he added. The minister also supported the activation of relations between the EEC and CEMA.

V.I. Vorotnikov said that although the USSR and the FRG are in different parts of the continent, we belong to one common European home and therefore our paramount concern is to ensure peace, calm, and cooperation in that home. The main condition for the European peoples' unhindered development is a lasting peace, which can only be created by establishing mutual trust. That is why the USSR strives to develop multifaceted relations with all European countries.

The Soviet leadership, he stressed, attaches great significance to the development and improvement of relations with the FRG in all areas and expresses the hope that its government will make an increasing contribution to the intensification of positive processes both in Europe and throughout the world.

The FRG foreign minister gave a dinner in the Soviet guest's honor.

A wide range of problems connected with deepening the all-European process in the political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian spheres was discussed during V.I. Vorotnikov's meeting with H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. They made a positive assessment of CPSU-SPD cooperation and the activity of the CPSU-SPD working group. The Soviet side noted with satisfaction the positive role played by the SPD in improving Soviet-FRG relations.

At a meeting with H. Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party [DKP], which was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere, V.I. Vorotnikov spoke about the revolutionary process of restructuring taking place in the USSR and the implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum. H. Mies briefed him on party life and the preparations for the upcoming DKP congress. The DKP, which these days is celebrating the 20th anniversary of its creation, he pointed out, has constantly maintained close fraternal ties with the CPSU.

Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy, USSR ambassador to the FRG, took part in the meetings.

In the evening V.I. Vorotnikov met with staffers of Soviet establishments in the FRG.

## Holds Talks in Duesseldorf

*PM2609111588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Visit Goes On"]

[Text] Duesseldorf, 23 Sep—To contribute to a better mutual understanding and diversified cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany is among the chief objectives listed in the statement on the principal directions of cooperation between the RSFSR and the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia. The statement was signed by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, a CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, now on a visit to the FRG, and by Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, here today.

The statement which is based on the existing agreements between the USSR and the FRG, provides for a further development of economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation between the Russian Federation and North Rhine-Westphalia. It will cover such areas as engineering, development of advanced technologies, production of building materials, and transportation as well as agriculture, environmental protection, urban and housing construction, and utilities.

The Russian Federation and North Rhine-Westphalia will continue their interaction in such fields as culture, secondary and tertiary education, health, vocational training, and extension courses for skilled personnel. There will also be meetings of young people of the two countries, as well as exchanges of teachers and researchers from higher education establishments.

Talking to journalists after the signing of the statement, Vitaliy Vorotnikov said that the reciprocal visits by the heads of the governments of North Rhine-Westphalia and the Russian Federation are an important component of their partner relations. In the course of the present talks, the sides discussed further steps to enhance the economic and cultural relations between North Rhine-Westphalia and the Russian Federation which account for a lion's share of the diverse contacts between the USSR and the FRG. To assist in the implementation of specific programs of cooperation and coordination of efforts, we agreed to set up a joint working group and drew up programs of exchanges in the fields of culture and art for 1989-1991. The friendly relations and mutual understanding between the Russian Federation and North Rhine-Westphalia would be greatly stimulated by exchanges of delegations between the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the Landtag of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Meetings with representatives of business communities, the Soviet guest went on to say, revealed sincere interest on their part in deeper and broader relations with our country. Possibilities for developing economic cooperation between enterprises of the Russian Federation and those of North Rhine-Westphalia are especially broad today. And the benefit will be reciprocal.

The main thing is, Vorotnikov stressed, that the peoples of our two countries wish to live in peace and hope that the flames of war will ravage Europe no more. The duty of politicians is to see to it that these aspirations become a reality.

Johannes Rau expressed his profound satisfaction with the successes scored in the 16 years of cooperation between North Rhine-Westphalia and the Russian Federation. He said that the partner relations, established between cities and universities of the Land and the Russian Federation, are developing, as is evidenced by the partner contacts between Dortmund and Rostov-on-the-Don, Hagen and Smolensk, Bielefeld and Novgorod, and Muenster and Ryazan. Exhibition exchanges and the holding of other cultural events have become a tradition.

The trade and economic cooperation is developing dynamically, the minister-president went on to say. Suffice it to say that 25 per cent of Soviet exports to the Federal Republic of Germany goes to North Rhine-Westphalia which, for its part, accounts for 42 per cent of all West German exports to the USSR. The joint statement we have signed today demonstrates a reciprocal desire for a further development and deepening of

cooperation in specific areas. As can be seen from this document, we have many plans and the experience of the development of our relations gives us confidence in our ability to successfully solve these tasks.

V.I. Vorotnikov invited J. Rau to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

In Duesseldorf, which is not only the capital of the Land but is also one of the major industrial and trading centres of the FRG, the Soviet guest had meetings with representatives of the business communities and with the heads of the Krupp, Thyssen, Mannesmann and Kloeckner, and other concerns. In a working and constructive atmosphere, they discussed matters pertaining to the elaboration of specific cooperation projects. At issue, among other things, were modernizing enterprises of light and food industries, working out new technologies for processing farming produce, and joint projects in the field of environmental protection. Other topics for discussion included cooperation among medium-sized and small enterprises and cooperatives, including those engaged in handicrafts.

Today the Soviet guest visited the Fauenhofer microelectronic circuits and systems institute in Duisburg and acquainted himself with its work. He visited a stockraising unit in the Korschenbroich-Rubbelrat region.

In the evening J. Rau gave an official dinner in Benrath castle in V.I. Vorotnikov's honor.

### Turkish Ambassador Presents Credentials

*PM2609102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7*

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] Volkan Vural, Turkish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials in the Kremlin on 22 September to G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches, G.S. Tarazevich and V. Vural had a detailed friendly conversation, during which opinions were exchanged on the state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-Turkish relations. A great deal of attention was devoted to the further development of trade, economic, cultural, and scientific ties. During a discussion of current international and regional problems, the sides expressed a joint desire to travel the road of expanding cooperation and collaboration in the interests of strengthening peace and international security.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### CPSU Greets Costa Rican Party Congress

*PM2209143388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*16 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2*

[CPSU Central Committee message to Costa Rican Popular Vanguard Party Congress]

[Text] To the 16th Costa Rican Popular Vanguard Party [PVP] Congress.

The CPSU Central Committee sends comradely greetings to the 16th Costa Rican Popular Vanguard Party Congress delegates.

Soviet Communists know that the PVP combines the defense of its country's national sovereignty, the vital interests of working people, and democratic freedoms with adherence to internationalist positions. It is displaying active solidarity with the peoples of other Central American countries and the whole of Latin America who are withstanding the imperialist circles' aggressive policy in a legitimate desire to decide for themselves their path of development.

The CPSU and the PVP are linked by traditional ties of friendship and cooperation. We value the PVP's support for Soviet foreign policy initiatives geared to preventing a nuclear catastrophe, creating an all-embracing system of international security, and ensuring the peoples' right to free political and social choice.

Our party is currently concentrating its efforts on the practical implementation of the 19th all-union conference guidelines whose purpose is to accelerate and deepen the processes of restructuring, radical economic reform, and democratization of Soviet society. The conference confirmed the CPSU course of constant solidarity with the struggle of communist and workers parties and all public forces for peace, social progress, and democracy.

We hope that your congress decisions will contribute to the cohesion of Costa Rican communists and all who advocate the country's independent and democratic development.

Long live friendship between the CPSU and PVP, between the peoples of our countries!

The CPSU Central Committee.

**Presidium Sends Condolences to Mexican President**
*LD2109111788 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 20 Sep 88*

[Text] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has sent a telegram to the Mexican president, Miguel de la Madrid, expressing condolences over the destructive Gilbert hurricane that hit the country. The calamity claimed casualties and did material damage.

**Turyzov, Trade Union Delegation Visits Panama**
*PA2509042888 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] A delegation of the Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] headed by Karatay Turyzov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and AUCCTU secretary, recently visited Panama.

The Soviet delegation met with Jose Manuel Meneses, secretary general of the National Central Organization of Panamanian Workers, and other members of that Panamanian union and exchanged opinions concerning a wide variety of problems.

The talks confirmed that the Soviet and Panamanian trade unions have the same views regarding the problems they discussed. Both groups intend to continue developing friendly relations of cooperation between their two organizations.

**PRAVDA Reports Return of Delegation**
*PM2609103388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report under "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, which visited Argentina, Venezuela, and Panama at the invitation of the leadership of the fraternal parties in the aforementioned countries, returned to Moscow on 22 September.

## Political & Social

### Gorbachev Addresses Media Representatives 23 Sep

*PM2409224588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 First Edition pp 1-2*

[Unattributed account of M.S. Gorbachev 23 September address to media representatives: "At a New Stage of Restructuring. M.S. Gorbachev's Speech at a Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee With Leaders of the Media, Ideological Institutions, and Creative Unions"]

[Text] Cordial greetings to you, comrades!

Although it is difficult to make the time, I decided to put off a few things in order to talk with you. Our meetings are very profitable for both sides. And today's conversation is essential.

First, let us talk about the features of the present stage of restructuring. I must say that there are many people in our society who have not yet noticed that a new stage of restructuring has arrived—the stage of practical hard work. Moreover, some people think we are still at a rally. Some are biding their time, others continue to hold rallies.

But the times demand vigorous practical actions.

We now possess not only the concepts of restructuring but also, contrary to certain claims, a sound strategy for renewal, one which specifies the most important spheres of social development. The most difficult time has begun: It was not easy working out the restructuring concept—but that, comrades, is all the same easier than embodying it in concrete action. The implementation of what has been projected involves the organization of a vast mass of people and the restructuring of thinking in the party, among the people, in every collective, and in every person. It is a process of massive, colossal difficulty and scale.

We are dragging our feet at the moment, we are wasting time, which means we are losing. In short, there is a gulf between the targets and the slogans we have set ourselves and our work.

We must now move forward and act. Life will enrich and adjust our work if we err in some way. But there is no need to fear this and make a drama out of it.

The current stage of restructuring requires a change of approach and different work methods—indeed, new people must appear. They must be recognized, noticed, and supported. Some people have panicked on encountering the realities and difficulties of this revolutionary process. In fact, comrades, there is a vast inertia in society, it has built up over decades. It will need a colossal effort to get the country out of this condition.

What we are doing by way of glasnost, by way of pointedly addressing problems, has, by the most exacting standards, worked. Restructuring is now deeply rooted in society and is accepted by it. So the inertia is being overcome. People are standing tall, they are beginning to act and adopt a civic stance, and they are becoming more exacting toward themselves and those around them. The most difficult part is getting society moving, moving forward. However, this has already been done, although the inertia is still there. It is accompanied by a lack of experience of working in the new way, and in view of this we are going to be busy in the political sphere, in the economy, and in the management sphere as well.

Anyway, comrades, these are all new processes, and not everyone has completely understood them. The old and the new are still living side by side, comrades—side by side. And they are in conflict. This also brings an definite element of complexity into the restructuring process.

It is also a transitional period in which all methods, all means of work—old and new—will coexist. We can see that some problems are not going to be solved until we intervene in the old way, as before. But what can you do? That's life.

There are many difficulties in restructuring. An intricate mosaic of moods, confused thoughts, illusions, impatience, irritation—it is all there, all in evidence, so to speak. But there is something else that is important—what you are appealing for, to what end you are analyzing events: in order to back the progressive line of the renewal of society, the attainment of a new quality of society, or to exploit the snags, the difficulties, the problems, and the complexities in order to denigrate and discredit the restructuring work. This is the essence of the problem if we approach it from the viewpoint of serious political analysis.

It is time now, comrades, for both party organs and leading cadres—including the media—to adopt a clear-cut stance.

Restructuring is a living process and it is being conducted by living people, not by robots programmed to behave in a particular way. It is a creative process, it has its own dialectics, its own contradictions, its own dramas. It is no secret that there is confusion in both the press and society as a whole with regard to analyses and assessments. Certain articles and writings would have it that restructuring has all but aggravated the state of affairs in the economy, thrown finances out of kilter, exacerbated the situation regarding supplies of foodstuffs and goods, and heightened housing and other social problems. What can be said to that?

First, why ascribe to restructuring things that relate to the period preceding it? It was the burden of past problems that led to the need for restructuring.

And second—critical bombast about an impending crisis is often dogmatically and mechanically retargeted to the present day. But it is not as if we have already completed the economic reform, comrades. We are only just starting and unfolding it.

And it is not as if we have completed the political reform. We merely formulated political directives at the party conference. We will still have to develop all this and implement it. We will have to work out a new electoral law, addende to the Constitution, and much more besides.

We have made a clean breast of our difficulties and problems and decided to sharply alter the prevailing situation. Let us move restructuring forward. We have no other option. That is the only way to solve the problems that have built up. This is the most important point. And we should not lay old sins at restructuring's door.

Let us explain things better and show people how in just a short period thousands of collectives and entire regions achieved positions in the front ranks. Many people have grasped the essence of the changes by grasping the opportunities that have opened up, and they have achieved impressive results! But others have not yet made the breakthrough. What's going on here? What's the reason behind it? This is what needs to be studied, so that we can take the lessons on board and learn to work in the new way.

Simply stating that "shelves are empty" or "there are no goods" is a waste of time. You can say it a couple of times, but then what? The very reason we are restructuring ourselves is to provide the people with everything.

After all, our reforms are opening up immense opportunities. But why have some people gotten things moving while others are still in a state of stagnation? Think about it: Sumy machine builders are no longer satisfied with plain economic accountability [khozraschet]—they want to lease their enterprise so as to put even more into their work. Yet thousands of collectives are only just taking their first steps toward economic accountability and the new methods of economic management.

The press—although by no means always as yet—is helping people to appreciate the changes and is explaining and propagandizing economic accountability and lease contracts. The press is also defending many other new methods, initiatives, and enterprise independence. That is a good thing. But it must resolutely eschew incorrect approaches or the compilation of "hair-raising" cases. That is just what the conservatives and fair-weather progressives are waiting for! Both types will gloat, saying: "We told you restructuring was a far-fetched idea and would produce nothing—we told you so all along!"

So opponents from the left and the right have become "bedfellows." Both "left-wingers" and "right-wingers" are sowing confusion in society and attacking restructuring. This has always been the case, and it is now reaffirmed by the experience of restructuring.

Restructuring among the people and in society is essentially just starting. And we must all put our shoulders to the wheel and push—push with might and main. Then restructuring will triumph! Of course, all this is very difficult.

In Krasnoyarsk Kray I saw both people's critical attitudes and their firm faith in the job begun by the party. That is the main guarantee for restructuring. I saw how thousands of people, all of Norilsk, came out onto the streets. People wanted to say that they back restructuring. And when certain people [inyye] write that many working people are disenchanted with restructuring and have no faith in it, they are being irresponsible.

I am in favor of the press playing a larger role, comrades. Without the press we will not cope, we will not get to grips with the restructuring process, and we will not appreciate the full range of the new problems facing us in the economy, the political sphere, and ideology. But we need a serious, responsible, forthright, and honest discussion of the kind we had in Krasnoyarsk Kray.

Many shortcomings [izderzhki] have their own roots and their own history. A great deal must still be done to shake loose the old tree, uproot it, and grow a new forest and reap the benefit. This is a serious matter, not a game. Let us do well the job we have begun.

Above all I wish to say this to you, to the people with whom we are working together, in whom we trust, people on whose help and support the party is counting. I am sure that, as we deepen and develop restructuring, we will overcome the difficulties. Having made our choice, we must have enough courage and responsibility to move things boldly forward, to achive what we have outlined.

In this connection, then, what are the tasks of the party and the press?

First, it is essential to provide the organizational and ideological backup for the policy of restructuring and to decisively head off attempts to discredit it.

Second, at a time which is both critical and crucial for the destiny of the country we must take a firm stand on the positions of realism, knowledge of life, and a considered attitude toward evaluations. Otherwise we could very quickly be diverted into superficial judgments, or else simply idle gossip.

Third, we must not incline people to expect miracles. It is essential to rid the social consciousness of that most harmful complex of faith in a "benevolent tsar," in an omnipotent center, in someone instilling order from

above and organizing restructuring. This is the worst type of social dependence. Many people have gotten out of the habit of acting independently, they do not know—which they should—how to work. This is a fact. And we should speak frankly about this.

Fourth, we must alter people's attitude toward our cause, toward life and society. And this can be done only by practically involving them in the restructuring processes. The policy of restructuring is of enormous significance, and look how actively the people are responding to it. But we will not forget that the main thing here is the experience of the masses themselves. And we must not think that people are what they are and there is no way you can change them. No. People are changing and very much so. We can see this from the examples of those who have involved themselves in restructuring. Therefore the press must assist this process to develop through reform, through glasnost, through democratization.

And again. At times the press degenerates into indiscriminate criticism of cadres. Some kind of one-sidedness is apparent here. Take the contract system on the kolkhoz, take the lease system. There are not a few opponents of both one and the other among leading officials and specialists because the lease system demonstrates the true worth of their capabilities. The press justly criticizes the resistance of this segment of the workers. But it appears that the machine operator who is accustomed to earning "by the turns of the wheel" rather than from the harvest grown also does not need the lease system. So that resistance to the lease system is also coming from that side. So it turns out that it is not only the bosses who are to blame for the fact that the lease system is so far making slow progress. And this is the case not only in agriculture. By our joint efforts we must prepare a psychological breakthrough among the people.

We must criticize cadres for their blunders, and especially those who are applying the brake to restructuring. We must do battle with the bureaucrats. But at the same time we must bear in mind that without a good cadre body which has grasped the ideas of restructuring, or which has been promoted and taken shape in the restructuring process, there will be no revolutionary renewal. Without specialists there will be no new economic solutions and no scientific and technical progress. We need, we very much need, talented leaders in all spheres of our activity.

Fifth. We must vigorously pursue—as we pursued it at the start of restructuring—the theme of enhancing responsibility, discipline, and order. You and I [my s vami], comrades, have forgotten about this. But we will not accomplish restructuring without this. We need order, responsibility, and initiative as we need the air we breathe.

And now I will tell you briefly about the impressions of my visit to Krasnoyarsk. A remarkable trip! I have experienced nothing like it before! The meetings with people were interesting. The conversation was interesting. Straightforward, frank talking. As the people have begun to talk openly! To those who assert that restructuring has produced nothing, one can reply: The greatest thing it has produced is what our people have become and are becoming. This is the most salient feature. It means that restructuring will happen! I gathered many impressions. A unique territory with very distinctive problems and proceses.

I would say the Siberians have accepted restructuring, they want it to work. People appreciate that there are questions (and they talked candidly about them) which will take time and resources, that not everything is that simple. But people are rightly angry that the simple questions are not being solved. The people behind these problems are precisely those who have nothing to do in their own jobs. A great deal can and must be done at the local level.

Of course, I saw once again that we are correct to put the emphasis on questions to do with the provision of food, housing, and goods. Particularly in such regions as Krasnoyarsk Kray. There is twice as much arable land there per capita as in the country as a whole, but there is a shortage of food. Peasants have given up farming and many have gone into industry. We have celebrated in the press the deeds of construction workers, the birth of giant industrial enterprises and power stations. Not once has anyone written about what is happening to the kray's agriculture and who is going to feed the people.

At the same time, the kray has great potential. I think we found many solutions there: How to put the ecology situation right, how to tackle the housing problem. It is easy when the serious work starts, everything can be solved then. The center is indeed to blame for not solving it, but the local leadership is to blame, too. There is much that has to be put right.

Monitoring is needed. The press must monitor the way ministries tackle social questions, the way funds are assimilated at local level to give people a better life. And every paper and journal can find its own angle on a topic. I like to see SOVETSKAYA KULTURA writing pointedly and objectively about the development of the cultural sphere in Siberia. Everyone, comrades, must follow social problems very closely.

We are now embarking on the kind of processes, the kind of new ground, the kind of scale of work that demands immense effort in theoretical and political activity, in the organization, the unification, the consolidation of society. And the party alone can be the vehicle for all this. Party organizations are changing. Their activity is acquiring greater vitality. And this must be recognized and supported because if we weaken the party rather than strengthen it, nothing will come of restructuring. By

solving questions of party development in the manner outlined at the conference we will raise CPSU activity to the higher level of a real political vanguard. Think about the party. It is our party.

The most interesting sign of the times is people's enormous desire for change for the better. And they are prepared to participate in all the processes that restructuring brings with it. At the same time, the working class, comrades, is very critical—keen to ensure that the actual restructuring does not get drowned in all the talk. There have been charges that we are not exacting enough. In this connection I would say once again that questions connected with renewing society and bringing people out of a state of political apathy onto the path of creativity and initiative cannot be solved by outdated strong-arm, command-and-administer methods.

But there must be order. The law must prevail. This, incidentally, has been demonstrated by the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. Are we going to sit and preach sermons while someone goes on the rampage and commits arson? We are not. And it is the press' job to support the law. After all, we are moving toward a rule-of-law state. We must defend working people! The dialectics must be recognized, comrades! And democracy demands the rule of law, responsibility, and discipline.

Reports and elections are currently taking place in party organizations. Rayon, city, oblast, and kray conferences are to come. This political campaign is enormously significant, and of course, for obvious reasons, its significance extends beyond the bounds of party life. There is an ongoing process of profound restructuring, the democratization of all intraparty life, and the formation of new approaches in party building in the light of the new tasks. It is not an easy process. People have been handing in their resignations. Some of our comrades have made a big thing of this, but I believe it is a natural process. Yes, people are quitting, but only those who are not prepared to work in the new conditions or feel that they do not have the strength to do so. Nor should we be afraid of this. Active, knowledgeable people are being elected to replace them, real leaders who have a proper vision of the new, who know how to fight for it.

On the basis of the principles formulated at the 19th party conference we are now engaged in reforming the party apparatus. And we want to do it as quickly as possible. There has already been discussion of this, and the Politburo has adopted a decision. In connection with the change in the party's functions, the structure of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee, republic Communist Party central committees, kraykoms, and obkoms will change, with the emphasis on political and organizational work. The apparatus will also be reduced in size. This will probably apply most of all to the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and least of all to the raykom and gorkom apparatus. We think that the party apparatus will be very substantially reinforced with better cadres and that its standard will be raised.

As for further plans with regard to the implementation of the 19th party conference decisions, we are planning to hold a plenum on questions of agrarian policy at the start of next year. Preparations are also in hand for a plenum on interethnic relations.

With regard to political reform, we will soon be discussing at the Politburo and submitting to the Commission for the Preparation and Implementation of the Reform a draft new election law and a draft addendum to the USSR Constitution on the question of political reform. These will be published for discussion. A USSR Supreme Soviet session will be held, there will be elections in the spring—as arranged—to be followed by a congress of people's deputies.

As for economic reform, a great deal still lies ahead in this area. Questions of price reform, wholesale trade, and the bringing about of a healthier financial situation in general are all very major and very difficult areas. And the main thing is that the rest of the economy is switching to economic accountability. This is an exceptionally crucial point, as shown by past experience.

Study the way that preparations are now in hand for the switch to new economic management methods; support valuable experience. Scathing words from journalists are now not enough on their own. We need more competence. We need competent people. But nor must we forget about the working people's views. After all, when you regularly read newspapers and magazines you get the impression that certain writers and even organizations have already divided up and distributed themselves among certain newspapers and magazines. Today I can tell you exactly which letters will be published by one magazine and which will be published by another. Group predilections can be discerned. And this must be overcome. Publish everything. There must be a plurality of opinions. But one aimed at defending and strengthening the line of restructuring and the socialist cause.

And, finally, the foreign policy aspects. Much is being written about this, and it is being done so in an interesting and more thoughtful way; new strengths have emerged. PRAVDA has started featuring direct conversations with scientists and representatives of the political circles of the West. This has now become an established practice and, in my view, there is much of interest in such candid exchanges of opinion. After all, we live in an interconnected, integrated world and represent different sectors of human civilization—for which we all bear a special responsibility. This line must be further pursued, comrades. But do not forget about the country we live and were born in.

We are not talking about any kind of limits on glasnost or democracy. What limits? Glasnost in the interests of the people and of socialism should be without limits. I repeat—in the interests of the people and of socialism.

I would emphasize that all my trips around the country convince me that our people back socialism. Moreover, the people themselves are keeping watch to make sure that nobody dislodges them from that road and leads them in another direction. People are keenly excited about the new processes. Just look at how they "quizzed" me on cooperatives and prices. Why are cheap goods being squeezed out of light industry, leaving only expensive goods behind? The working class is following very attentively the processes that are taking place. Yet we are above all the party of the working class—working-class ideology is the basis of the activity of our party and state. We are not abandoning this—what is more, we believe that we have enormous opportunities ahead of us for development on the basis of our socialist choice which we made in October [1917].

Restructuring rests on socialist principles and on the full unfolding of socialist potential. This does not rule out exchanging experience and achievements in technology, science, and other spheres of human activity with those who preach different principles. But our values are socialist values. And we must place all of socialism's potential at the service of society's renewal.

Thus, the democratization process and glasnost must be moved forward. Otherwise we will not resolve our tasks.

The economic reform and the transformation of the political system must be moved forward, we must continue to persistently and extensively pursue the line of society's improvement, and we must do so soundly, with great responsibility, skillfully, and wholeheartedly. People who care about the country will always find a way to stir the people's will, raise their spirits, and give them strength in the struggle for the triumph of restructuring.

Good luck to you all!

## Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

### Baku Reports Volskiy Address

*NC2509154788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 22 Sep 88*

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO], which worsened as a result of the clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, continues to be strained. Regardless of the measures put into effect to prevent incidents around the question of the inter-nationalities situation, individual houses and automobiles were set on fire and other lawless activities were carried out on the night of 21 September. Fires were started in a number of places, but there has not been any loss of life.

Many of the residents of Stepanakert and its rayons fear for their safety. No work was carried out in Stepanakert by establishments, construction organizations, transportation units, or schools. Working together with social organizations, the party and soviet organs have been trying to put economic work in order and normalize the situation in NKAO and its neighboring rayons.

Arkadiy Volskiy, CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet representative in Nagorno-Karabakh, spoke on local radio and television on matters concerning the existing situation. Volskiy said the following:

The party and the government have adopted a series of decisions for the NKAO's development and for the prompt settlement of the various problems which have accumulated in the autonomous oblast. However, it seems that this does not suit the interests of a certain group of people.

The situation has seriously worsened in the autonomous oblast recently. Strikes have been held in industrial establishments, construction organizations, and social transportation establishments. Lessons have been cut in schools and unauthorized meetings and demonstrations have been held. The oblast procurator's office has been attacked and contemptuous behavior toward state organs has occurred. Furthermore, there have been instances when moves were made to belittle the dignity of servicemen of the USSR Interior Ministry and militia members, who are responsible for social order.

In view of the present situation, a state of emergency has been declared in Stepanakert and the Agdam Rayon and (?restrictions have been imposed) as of 21 September. All the required measures are being put into effect to guarantee the people's safety and security, maintain social order, and ensure serious adherence to socialist law.

### Armenian Leaders Issue Appeal

*NC2309195488 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenia 1215 GMT 23 Sep 88*

["Appeal by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers to the Republic's Communists and Workers"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 21 September, ARMENPRES—Dear comrades: The recent incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh have greatly exacerbated the situation in the republic. Unauthorized rallies, demonstrations, and marches are still taking place in Yerevan. Irresponsible strike calls are heard. Large groups of people, especially youths, who are being urged on by immature elements, surround the buildings of the Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet, try to upset public transportation, and obstruct the activities of industrial organizations and classes in the educational establishments and schools. Pressure is being inflicted on the deputies in an organized way to call an immediate session of the republic's Supreme

Soviet to examine the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh's incorporation, even though a well-known decision on that issue has already been adopted.

All these things are happening at a time when, thanks to the measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, life in Nagorno-Karabakh has gradually begun to return to normal and our republic is actively participating with concrete measures in the social and cultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The committee formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Comrade A.I. Volskiy, the permanent representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet in the NKAO, are taking positive steps to solve the problems that have accumulated in the oblast.

The recent Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee's plenum studied ways to overcome the stagnation in the republic's economy and social fields, as well as ways to improve the moral-ideological situation. This was warmly welcomed by the workers.

The situation created in the republic is loaded with unforeseeable consequences that can throw us back from the victories scored during the past months, (?create deadlocks), and lead to the retrogression of the people. What is happening has caused great concern among the republic's workers. The incidents exceed the limits of the democratization process. They are taking on a dangerous character, leading to unhealthy sentiments, and tormenting the people's minds.

Extremely dangerous calls are being heard at the rallies—calls that have nothing whatsoever to do with the NKAO problem. Politically immature people, playing with the people's genuine national feelings and with the tension naturally felt by the Armenian population of the NKAO, are exacerbating the situation in every possible way and calling for illegal acts to be carried out. They do not even refrain from attracting adolescents and students to their illegal acts, ignoring the harm that is done to their minds. These occurrences justly arouse the concern of all the alert and healthy forces and all the modest people who truly care about the Armenian people's destiny. It is also a source of great concern that acts are often carried out aimed at diverting the people's social [word indistinct] activism into a politically harmful direction, regardless of the possible outcome of such acts. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers are deeply concerned with the situation created in Nagorno-Karabakh, and they decisively condemn the instigatory disorders that have had grave consequences. Sharing our compatriots' concern and expressing deep regrets to those who have suffered, we appeal to our people's sincere patriotism.

We call on each individual to display wisdom, self-control, and self-restraint, and to realize the danger that our people can face if sentiments are kindled. It has been correctly said that man learns from his mistakes and from tragedies that are paid for dearly.

The democratization of our people creates the conditions for free expression by our people. However, a democratic state cannot allow individuals to exploit their given rights, trample on the law, and ignore their responsibilities to the public.

This difficult and critical time demands that each and every person in the republic show the utmost self-restraint and responsibility toward the people's destiny and future. We cannot allow blind elements to darken the people's reason.

Compatriots, the Armenian people have struggled for centuries for their independence, the revival of their state, and the preservation of the original character of their language and culture.

Renowned elements in the movement for the liberation of the Armenian nation always bound their hopes and expectations (?with) the Russian people. The national rebirth, the solidarity, the revival of the state, and everything else that the Armenian people have achieved during the past 70 years are owed to the Great October victory and to the establishment of the Armenian Soviet state.

We appeal to our glorious working class; to the farmers, intellectuals, and youths; to our mothers and children; and to all those who hold dear the destiny of the Armenians: Be worthy of the Armenian people's patriotism; be worthy of their internationalist (?feelings) and the memory of the thousands of people who fell for our country's freedom and independence.

We appeal to you to stop and think. Do not become a tool in the hands of blind forces. Remember that each of us together and every one of us on our own is responsible not only for our children's future and our people's destiny, but for our home, the entire country, and for revolutionary reconstruction, democratization, and openness.

May you always display rationality and (?wisdom) during these critical times.

[Signed] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers

### Lithuanian Union Message

*LD2309193188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our editorial office today received a telegram from Lithuania. It says that the trade union of the republic's fishing industry workers condemns the instigators responsible for fanning disorders and kindling interethnic conflicts, and also emphasizes that there will never be any winners in this struggle, only victims. The trade union of Lithuania's fishing industry workers appeals to the working people of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to take all necessary measures to bring about order.

### Demidov on Situation

*LD2309183988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Our special correspondents Leonid Lazarevich and Koryun Khomaryan report from Yerevan:

[Lazarevich] This morning I was awakened by the noise of bus engines. And I was glad, you know, because yesterday all was silent outside the hotel window, which is situated on one of the main highways of the city. When I went out into the street in the morning I saw that it was bustling with a lot of people who were unable to get to work. The transport facilities had not left their depots. Today the buses have been running; transport has been working. And so, too, have many enterprises. We obtained more precise information from the city committee of the party, and I am going to ask Koryun to tell us about them:

[Khomaryan] Out of 227 enterprises, 127 have fully restored their working rhythm and at 83 enterprises more than 50 percent of workers and office staff have turned up for work; only at 178 enterprises has it not proved possible to resume the working rhythm—these are mainly small enterprises, though they do include major works like the Yerevan motor works, for example, and the electrotechnical works and the hydro-apparatus works. Unfortunately, one cannot say that the situation in the city has returned to normal. Meetings and a hunger strike continue in the city; there are a lot of excited people on the streets and in the squares. Nikolay Ivanovich Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, is in Yerevan now. We interviewed him:

[Begin recording] [Lazarevich] Nikolay Ivanovich, 2 months ago I left Yerevan and saw that the situation was stabilizing and the internal troops had been withdrawn from there. Two months have gone by and once again there are armored transporters in the squares, a very large number of militiamen can be seen in the city, and additional forces of the services for the maintenance of order have been brought in. Please tell us what it is that has brought this about?

[Demidov] This has been brought about by a sharp deterioration in the situation recently, virtually since Monday of this week. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that additional forces belonging to our ministry's internal troops have been sent here. Together with army detachments, we are doing everything incumbent upon us to stabilize the situation in the city and the republic and then bring it back to normal. For this purpose, preventive measures are being taken to stop outrages, group crimes, and other excesses from taking place in the city. All attempts of this kind will be resolutely cut short; no one should be in any doubt about that. The internal troops carrying out the set tasks are operating boldly, I would even say courageously, and are honorably carrying out their civic and military duty, comrades.

[Khomaryan] On Thursday very many of the city's enterprises were not working. This was partly brought about by the fact that the work of the transport services was paralyzed. Pickets were outside the motor transport enterprises and they prevented the drivers from going to work, calling upon them to strike. Today, Friday, the transport services are working.

[Demidov] Pickets were indeed committing excesses yesterday in a number of places. They were preventing the drivers from working; some of them were literally hauled out of their buses and trolleybuses to ensure that the transport would not operate.

[Khomaryan] Cases of that kind are on record?

[Demidov] This is on record; protocols have been compiled, and these documents have been sent to the judicial bodies. Today we took resolute measures. And in the main, transport in the city is working.

[Lazarevich] Excuse me, when we say resolute measures, the question arises: Have there been any casualties or not?

[Demidov] No one has been hurt—there is not one single casualty.

[Lazarevich] These were tough and resolute measures, but...

[Demidov, interrupting] Considered measures and within the framework of socialist legality, of course.

[Lazarevich] You can feel the tension in the city, but what is the situation?

[Demidov] The operational situation is calm. Essentially, crimes are not being committed in the city and in the republic. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] The presence of the forces of security and their calmness and composure are, of course, doing their job. But they are not the only ones to claim credit for the changes today. Headquarters for the normalization of the situation are operating the party raykom.

[Khomaryan] I would like to stress especially the active stance of many of our prominent figures in science and culture, who are finding words that imprint themselves on one's soul at this time of alarm for the fate of our people, calling for calm and restraint. Viktor Amazaspovich Ambartsumyan, president of the republic's Academy of Sciences, Academician Eduard Dzherbashyan, and the poet Silva Kaputikyan are people whose word is heeded by our people.

[Lazarevich] But there are other people, too, there are other forces which are whipping up tension. Today a struggle is taking place for sobriety, for calm.

## Further on Demidov Comments

*LD2309232188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] our correspondent S. Vetoshkin reports from Yerevan:

[Vetoshkin] All this week, Yerevan's Opera Square has been like a seething cauldron, with rallies lasting several hours and a constant whipping-up of emotions, which, in crowds this big, is fraught with all kinds of the most severe consequences. Naturally, under such circumstances the law and order forces bear special responsibility. During the unrest of the previous months they were not always on the mark, often adopting a stance of nonintervention. Today there is perhaps nothing that worries people here in Armenia, and probably throughout the country too, more than guarantees of safety and the authorities' ability to control the situation. [video shows several hundred people in theater square; banners tied between lamp posts; a three-deep line of militiamen across the square, with two soldiers on an Army vehicle behind them; three armored personnel carriers blocking a road adjacent to the square]

[Begin recording] [N.I. Demidov, deputy minister of internal affairs—identified by caption] In connection with the dramatic deterioration of the situation in the city, our ministry has stationed additional internal troops forces here. Together with military subunits, we have been charged with the task of stabilizing the situation in the near future, and then normalizing things in the city. To this end we are doing everything to ensure law and order and to prevent atrocities in the city, manifestations of group criminal acts, and other excesses. [end recording]

[Vetoshkin] The members of the Karabakh committee call themselves the nation's conscience. But what are they teaching people now, at such a crucial time for the Armenian people? Only national intransigence, only a policy of ultimatum, which is incapable of leading anywhere other than into a dead end. And if, God forbid, emotions bubble over, the very worst will happen. Those same youths who are now standing in Opera Square with extremist slogans, on growing more mature and learning a lot about this life, will curse the instigators from the Karabakh committee who offer their people no other alternative but enmity, strikes, and the fanning of national dissension. [video shows demonstrators in Opera Square]

## Arutyunyan Meets Media Officials

*NC2309175788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1610 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] On September 22, Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, met with the editors of the republic's newspapers and with leading employees and officials of the Radio and Television State Committee and the state press agency. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party, was present at the meeting.

A frank and (?businesslike) discussion was held on the recent incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh, about the normalization of the difficult situation created in the republic, and about the (?activities) of the press, television, and radio employees.

The participants in the meeting pointed out that the mass media do not report on a timely basis on issues that disturb the people. As happens in such cases [words indistinct] reports received from various sources and (?fabrications) create an atmosphere of mistrust.

The explosive situation created in the republic and particularly in Yerevan rouses sentiments and incites emotions. Irresponsible statements and provocative appeals are heard in the rallies that are not always [words indistinct] by the mass media. (?It was pointed out) that all the strength of the (?press) and [words indistinct] be aimed at making the people display sagacity and (?self-restraint) so that they can aim their efforts at overcoming difficulties and can emerge from the (?situation that has been created) to solve the problems that have arisen for the republic's workers and which were discussed during the September 1988 Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. The employees of the mass media should (?regard) with great responsibility and [word indistinct] the people's destiny-making strength and actively strive for the return of normalcy in Yerevan and the republic's other cities and regions.

The meeting was attended by Kondratyev, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Section for Party and Organizational Activities, and Asatryan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee's Propaganda and [word indistinct] Organization.

### Meetings in Baku on Events

*LD2309232888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent M. Mamedov report from Baku]

[Text] Baku has been living a normal life over the past few days. I would mention in particular that not a single work team, not a single shop or a single enterprise has suffered from temporary interruptions to work since the beginning of the year. Moreover, Baku's working class has put in several Saturdays of unpaid labor in order to make up, to some extent, for a certain lagging-behind in the republic's industry, However, I would not be wrong in saying that every inhabitant of Baku is today concerned about the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Unfortunately, provocateurs have appeared in our city, attempting to make political capital out of our common misfortune and to (?organize) rallies and marches, so it is no coincidence that there are more public order volunteers and militia details than usual on the streets of Baku today. [video shows Baku street scenes; militiamen among pedestrians]

Of course, it is impossible to act by administrative measures alone; that would only be disrespectful toward people. The leadership of Azerbaijan's party organizations has made a tradition of meetings between ministerial and departmental leaders, senior workers of the Central Committee apparatus, the republic's Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the city's working people. Such meetings were held today in all industrial enterprises, higher educational establishments, and workers' hostels. People were provided with the very latest authentic information, which refuted the rumors and conjecture over what is happening in Stepanakert and other parts of the republic. No less important was the fact that these meetings discussed matters which the staff at various enterprises have been unable to resolve for many long years. At the Leytnant Shmidt machine-building works, for example, the gorkom leaders solved the housing problems of 60 workers in literally 2 hours. Today, at the 26 Baku Commissars works, where we shot these pictures, they managed to adopt (?a plan) for putting the workers' hostels in order, providing amenities for housing estates, and streamlining the work of retail and transportation facilities. For many leaders it was far from easy, for the meetings took the form of a kind of debate; they were open and they tackled the most acute problems.

### 'Tough Measures' Praised

*LD2309202888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] A traditional meeting of the leadership of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee and heads of republican ministries and departments with labor collectives was held in Baku today. Our correspondent (Islam Kuriyev) reports:

Today, Baku is going about its normal business. Oil is being extracted from the oil fields. The Baku refrigerator works has dispatched its latest batch of output to [name indistinct]. New residential estates are being built. In other words, it is a normal working day.

But it can not be said that everything is taking its routine course. There is, of course, a problem: More (?details) of militiamen and members of volunteer militia groups appearing in the streets of Baku are evidence of the fact that events in Nagorno-Karabakh have again started giving cause for alarm. They are causing anxiety to all, regardless of people's nationality. I could see that at the Baku "26 Baku Commissars" mechanical repair works workers' club. There was not a single empty seat in the club. Fundamental questions were asked concerning not just the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, but also the life of the labor collective. At times it proved difficult for Afrand Dashdamirov, chief of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, (Ilyak Ismaylov), the republican procurator, and the heads of the gorkom, ministries, and departments to give replies.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] The situation in our Transcaucasus region as a whole is very difficult and complex. (?There is) the decision to bring in a curfew and to establish a state of emergency [chrezvychaynoye polozheniye]. But we realize that developments are assuming an increasingly dangerous nature, both in the Nagorno-Karabakh region and surrounding it, as a result of the irresponsible actions of extremist forces, which have in essence attempted in the last few weeks and months to torpedo the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to exploit glasnost and democracy. [Words indistinct] it proved necessary in the absence of any other alternative to adopt these emergency [chrezvychaynyy], and, as I would call them, tough measures. I would say we already have positive results from this. A large quantity of arms has been seized, and people guilty of keeping weapons and of incitement are being called to account. This is difficult work, of course, and is meeting resistance. This should have been foreseen.

The main thing, however, is that thanks to the adoption of these measures the process of normalizing the situation in the region has started. [end recording]

### Yerevan Rallies Denounced

*PM2609081788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Second Editon p 6*

[TASS report: "On the Situation Around Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Measures taken by law-enforcement personnel in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and the Agdam district of Azerbaijan have made it possible to ease tension and prevent further interethnic clashes.

People who set houses on fire have been arrested and firearms and knives have been confiscated from individual persons. Investigations are under way.

Representatives of party and state organs, social organizations, and the mass media are conducting explanatory work among the population.

Work is continuing as normal in the rural areas of the autonomous region. But in Stepanakert, factories, building organizations, and schools are still idle.

Some 150 unloaded wagons have accumulated at the railway station.

The appeal made by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of Armenia to the communists and all working people in the republic has had a positive effect on the development of the situation there.

Well-known scientists and cultural personalities in Armenia, in particular Academician Viktor Ambartsumyan and poetess Silva Kaputikyan, have spoken on Armenian television, urging the people to demonstrate self-control and soberness and not to fall for irresponsible calls.

Measures adopted by law-enforcement personnel have been received with understanding in most worker collectives. A considerable part of the factories and organizations in the Armenian capital and other industrial centers in the republic were working in the morning of 23 September. City transport operations are being normalized.

But a stabilization of the situation has been hampered by rallies in the center of Yerevan organized by irresponsible elements, where provocative statements are being made and rumors are being floated in a bid to artificially stir people up.

The situation in the city is being monitored [kontroliruyetsya].

### 'Provocations' Occurring

*LD2309192488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports from Nagorno-Karabakh:

[Omelchenko] Today in Stepanakert, the oblast, and the Agdamskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan it is relatively calm, as calm as things can be with the introduction of the special situation [osoboye polozheniye] and a curfew. It is true that one house was set on fire over night; the instigator has been arrested and an investigation is being conducted. Unfortunately, provocations are taking place. Strikes are continuing at industrial enterprises, construction organizations, and on mass transport. Enterprises which ensure the vital activity of the oblast are continuing to work.

I want to quote from the appeal from the Karabakh Obkom and the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies to communists and all working people in the oblast: The events of recent days are developing according to a scenario written by provocateurs, who are striving to destabilize the situation and whip up tension, and by those who are pursuing the goal of smearing restructuring and democracy and knocking us off the true path.

These are very correct words and they might well be said today by all the residents of Nagorno-Karabakh who are striving to stabilize the situation and resolve all the matters and problems facing them today.

In Stepanakert today, an aktiv of the town's working people took place, and Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Nagorno-Karabakh, made a speech. I want to end my report with his words. It is essential to show patience in this difficult period of the special status [osoboye polozheniye] and the curfew. In this difficult situation it really is essential to get down to business in a calm manner.

### Armenian Presidium Meets 23 Sep

*NC2409052188 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium met yesterday and studied ways to normalize the situation created in the republic by recent incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. (?A report was submitted) by Comrade Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic (?unanimously approved) a decision that has been published in the newspaper.

### Rejects Special Session

*LD2409091988 Hamburg DPA in German 0811 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Armenian leadership has rejected a call for a special session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic on the subject of Nagorno-Karabakh. A spokesman for the Armenian news agency ARMENPRES said on Saturday in a telephone conversation with DPA that the Presidium of the highest Armenian body had decided merely to include the Karabakh issue on the agenda of the next regular session.

A resolution by the Presidium, which was published in the republic's party paper, "KOMMUNIST" on Saturday, states that the Presidium once again calls on the USSR Supreme Soviet to address the Caucasian conflict and to ensure that the adopted measures are implemented more quickly. The Armenian Presidium also urges the leadership of the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan to guarantee the safety of Armenians on its territory.

The ARMENPRES spokeman said that on Saturday a large number of people had again gathered in Opera Square to express dissatisfaction about the decisions. Yesterday a renewed demand was made for detaching Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and temporarily putting it under the rule of the RSFSR. The Presidium, however, had not made a single reference to the demands in its resolution.

### Presidium Decisions Reported

*LD2409170088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Report from Armenia by special correspondents Leonid Lazarevich and Koryun Khomaryan]

[Text] [Lazarevich] We have spent most of today in agricultural areas. The stops we made were not very long, but I got the impression that the countryside is experiencing none of the tension which one feels so acutely in Yerevan. Fieldwork is proceeding; the peasants have not put down their tools for a single day—neither in July or in the past week. Here's a short recording that we made:

[Begin recording] [Lazarevich] We have stopped at the edge of a highway which cuts through the Ararat Valley. There are vineyards and fields on both sides. It is Saturday today, but in this vineyard a team is at work bringing in the harvest. I interviewed the team leader, Grachik Galustovich Mnatsakyan from the village of Bargamyan. Grachik Galustovich, how is the harvest this year?

[Mnatsakyan] The harvest is very good this year. Grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, and fruits were good.

[Lazarevich] And I see that people are at work here. Today is Saturday, yet everyone is out in the fields.

[Mnatsakyan] We work on Saturday, we work on Sunday. When the harvest is on we have no time off. We work all the time until the grapes are gathered and finished.

[Lazarevich] Grachik Galustovich, we have just come from Yerevan. As you know, the situation there now is tense and difficult—there were strikes on Thursday. How are things here in the countryside?

[Mnatsakyan] We don't have that here in the countryside, because we are working. Nobody here is [word indistinct] or hindering us. [end recording]

[Khomaryan] In Yerevan, meanwhile, the situation remains complicated. This was stated yesterday at a session of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet held to discuss measures to normalize the situation which has evolved in the republic in connection with the latest events in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The Presidium also expressed profound concern over the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and resolutely denounced the disorder which has been provoked and which has brought severe repercussions in its wake. The working people of the republic, states the decision, express their concern over the progress in fulfilling the decision of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers on Nagorno-Karabakh, and their concern over the provision of the guarantees outlined by that decision.

The population is poorly informed on the practical work being done to fulfill the decisions adopted, and this is creating fertile soil for the propagation of all kinds of rumors and for an aggravation of the situation.

The Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decided to ask the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to take measures to accelerate the fulfillment of the 18 July 1988 decision and the examination of the proposals made at the USSR Supreme Soviet session; it decided to ask the commission of the Soviet of Nationalities to accelerate the preparation of the proposals pertaining to Nagorno-Karabakh to be examined in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It also decided to ask the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet to implement the necessary measures to ensure real guarantees of safety for people of Armenian nationality on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR, with due consideration for the fact that the Presidium of the Armenian SSR takes it upon itself to guarantee the safety of the Azeri population in this republic. It asked the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and the executive committees of the republic's local soviets of people's deputies to take effective measures to restore the normal work rhythm at industrial enterprises, establishments, organizations,

and educational establishments and to ensure the broad involvement of labor collectives and public organizations in combating violations of state and labor discipline.

I ought to say that I have the impression that the tension in Yerevan has eased over the past 2 days, and eased considerably. There are considerably fewer people in the streets and squares, and the excitement has cooled somewhat. People are now reflecting more on the documents which have been published of late, and are thinking more and in a more sober fashion about the work lying ahead on Nagorno-Karabakh and about restoring normal relations in the republic.

### Situation Remains 'Very Tense'

*LD2409171788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[Text] Now our bulletin moves on to a report from Stepanakert. Sergey Omelchenko, our special correspondent, reports:

[Omelchenko] The situation today in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in Stepanakert, and in Agdamskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan continues to be very tense. There are patrols on watch at crossroads. No demonstrations by the population or by any groups of people are being observed, although isolated incidents are still taking place. For example, (Amerdzhanyan), born in 1960, and (Martirosyan), born in 1967, were detained while attempting to penetrate the base of a military unit for unknown purposes. A weapon and six cartridges were taken from them at the time of their arrest. An investigation is under way.

The special situation is no picnic, but at least people feel less anxious for themselves and their relatives. The prosecutor's office and the investigation bodies are exposing the instigators of the recent disorders in Khodzhaly on 18 September.

Yesterday we saw children going to school. Only enterprises which safeguard the lives and activity of the oblast are working. Transport is operating only on the most urgent routes, to hospitals, maternity hospitals, the bakery, and the (?dairy plant).

Here is a recording which I made at the railway freight station, where hundreds of cars are standing idle. But the workers have come to the freight station to unload very urgent foodstuffs.

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] What's your name?

[Unidentified man] [Words indistinct].

[Omelchenko] The problems of Nagorno-Karabakh are now being resolved, but you are harming yourselves by going on strike, by not working.

[Man] We don't want to fight [words indistinct]. You show us the way and we will take that way. (?And the strikers) don't know what they are doing either.

[Second unidentified man] (?Can our problems) be resolved?

[Third unidentified man] Of course they can. [end recording]

### NKAO Offers Daily 'Updates'

*PM2609082188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Second Editon p 2*

["Appeal to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] On September 24 the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom and the Executive Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Soviet of People's Deputies sent the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia and the editorial offices of newspapers the following appeal:

The Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom and the Executive Committee of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies, as well as the oblast public, resolutely condemn the rumors and conjectures being circulated at rallies in the city of Yerevan in connection with the events of recent days in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The introduction of special status [osoboye polozheniye] and a curfew is perceived by the oblast's population as an extreme but necessary step. The situation in the NKAO, and in Stepanakert in particular, is gradually stabilizing. The relations between the population and the troop units are becoming more normal. The necessary steps are being taken to restore the work rhythm at the city's enterprises. The party obkom and the oblast executive committee consider references to dubious information sources that radically distort the essence of what is going on in the oblast to be impermissible. This sort of information, which has been heard at rallies in Yerevan, is misleading to people and serves to stoke up passions.

In order to put an end to the absurd rumors that are far from the truth, the dissemination of which is only playing into the hands of opponents of restructuring, and to ensure a just solution to the Karabakh problem, we are prepared to provide daily information updates on the events in the oblast.

We ask you to read the text of this telegram at a rally in the city of Yerevan.

[Signed] Pogosyan, secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom; Babayan, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of People's Deputies of NKAO.

### 'Extraordinary' Measures Lauded

*LD2409195088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondents V. Ryazanov and Z. Burovskiy report from Stepanakert]

[Text] [Ryazanov] A special status [osoboye polozheniye] and a curfew are in their fourth day here, throughout the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and also in the neighboring Agdamskiy Rayon of the Azerbaijan SSR. The measures that have been taken are extraordinary but essential. [video shows street in Stepanakert with a few people in the street and a solitary car; aerial view of bus station; two soldiers in blue berets shown at some sort of checkpoint]

What is happening now? The situation in the towns and settlements is being controlled by forces for the preservation of public order and by troop units. The main roads are being patrolled. The most important facilities are being protected, as are the lives and safety of the citizens. [video shows armored personnel carrier in the middle of the road while two soldiers check vehicles. Cars seen at traffic circle at the entrance to town] Measures are being taken to find violators of the passport rules.

Actually, I would like to point out that compared with the first day that the special status was introduced, today the number of such people has been exactly halved. Over these days, 500 individual firearms have been confiscated from people of both Azerbaijani nationality and Armenian nationality. All these measures have made it possible to halt a slide toward the dangerous stage beyond which the situation in the region could have become unmanageable and uncontrollable.

Unruly behavior, looting, and the setting on fire of houses have been halted completely. At the same time, industrial enterprises, construction organizations, and transport and educational establishments are not working in the NKAO at this time except for enterprises and services providing essential operations. Work has not stopped in rural rayons of the oblast. [video shows streets, construction site, transport depot with no people present]

How are the recent events being assessed? What do the residents of Stepanakert think about the situation that has come about and the ways of resolving it?

[Begin recording] [Driver A.Sh. Arakelyan] [Words indistinct] 2 or 3 days ago, but now things have gotten a bit more normal. Normal in what sense? There is no shooting [word indstinct].

[A.A. Vanyan, chief of transport shop at Karabakh silk combine] [Words indistinct]. We did not have any idea of what an Azerbaijani or what an Armenian was. And today we are impatient, we want to live as friends, live like this and work side by side. [end recording]

[Ryazanov] Over these difficult days it is essential to preserve order and not yield to provocations; to strictly observe the demands of the special status; to do everything possible to normalize the relations between the nationalities; and to restore order and organisation as an indispensable condition for the improvement of people's lives and and the future development of the NKAO.

### Yerevan, Stepanakert Reports

*LD2509181088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[Text] [Presenter] The situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh remains complicated. On the line now from Yerevan is our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich:

[Lazarevich] Today is apparently a normal Sunday. There's a lot of sunshine, a lot of greenery, the fountains are working. There are a lot of people taking walks. Yet when you go into the very center of the city you see armored personnel carriers on the streets, state institutions surrounded by the militia, and on the Teatralnaya Ploshchad a lot of excited people. Meetings that have not been sanctioned have been taking place here near the Opera Theater for several days now. Very large numbers of people gather here, and in the last few days some openly provocative and nationalistic calls have been voiced in front of these people. People still come to the square. What is happening? Do they support these calls?

I think that one of the main reasons why people come to the square is their desire to get information about Nagorno-Karabakh. And they get information—but information of what kind? I am sure that it is nearly always inaccurate, based upon rumors. The fact that this is one of the reasons for the tension that has arisen here in Yerevan was mentioned at a meeting which took place yesterday between Comrade Artuyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, and representatives of the creative intelligentisia.

This, too, is written about in an appeal by the republic's leading scientists, an appeal that has been published today. Do you share the view that the mass media have in fact been providing little information for the public about events in Nagorno-Karabakh? I put this question to (Sergey Grigoryevich Vasdaryan), secretary of the Party Committee at the Yerevan Physics Institute:

[Begin (Vardanyan) recording] Certainly. I consider that one of the main reasons for this new flare-up of passions in Yerevan is the lack of up-to-the-minute information

about events which are really taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh. The vacuum that has arisen is being filled to their own great advantage by irresponsible individuals who are speculating with the desire of people to know the truth. In this extremely tense situation even one incorrectly presented topic is enough to bring forth a storm of passions and indignation among people. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] Nevertheless, I would like to say that some kind of turning point in the situation has arrived. Today, the KOMMUNIST newspaper—the central newspaper in Armenia—published a report datelined Stepanakert, 24 September. It gives sufficiently full information about what has been taking place in the town over the past day. The newspaper also publishes telegrams from Stepanakert from Pogosyan, obkom first secretary, and from (Babayan), chairman of the oblispolkom, which says that they are making themselves responsible for providing regular information about what is taking place in that town.

[Presenter] Let's now hear from Stepanakert. On the line is our special correspondent (Sergey Omelchenko):

[(Omelchenko)] If you compare things with the first days of the introduction of the special status and curfew, there are now considerably fewer violations of public order. Cases of arson have stopped, although citizens are discovered from time to time with bottles containing an incendiary mixture. Despite the fact that the curfew is a compulsory and one might say, unpleasant measure, the oblast residents admit that over the past few days they have been sleeping peacefully.

Detachments of internal troops and Army units have been helping not merely to ensure order, but to bring to light criminal elements in Nagorno-Karabakh. Today, for example, a group of newly arrived drug addicts was arrested. Acting on a proposal by the authorities, the population has already voluntarily handed over 695 items of firearms—in the main hunting weapons—though there were also home-made grenades. Ninety-five guns were removed during searches.

I talked with workers and managers of enterprises in Stepanakert. Many people are already tired of the strike and are inclined to end it, but unfortunately they are still being prevented by provocations and the general excitement. I hope that tomorrow a positive decision will be made by the collectives (?once they have weighed things sensibly). There is a very great desire for children to return to school tomorrow. I agree with those who are deeply convinced that forcible action and counteraction will not lead to anything good, and will not solve the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. One wants to trust in the common sense of the good and ordinary people, who are the inhabitants of this wonderful region.

Once emotions have calmed down and prejudices have been cast aside, the people of Karabakh—Azerbaijanis and Armenians—will overcome this crisis situation.

## Calm in Rural Areas Cited

*LD2509192688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our special correspondent S. Vetoshkin reports from Armenia:

[Vetoshkin] The end of September is a time of plenty in Armenia. I drove through five rural rayons of the republic. Everywhere there is an excellent harvest of vegetables and fruit. Grape harvesting has started in the Ararat valley, and so far half a million more tonnes than last year of fodder for stock has already been procured. The farmers of the republic could probably say, with every reason, that this is successful, good year, were it not for the worrying news from Stepanakert and Yerevan. [video shows various agricultural scenes; Vetoshkin speaks to unidentified woman in orchard, while others gather round]

[Begin recording] [Woman] We are worried about the Karabakh question, because many people of different nationalities used to live happily together. Now something is happening—God knows what.

[Vetoshkin] And how do you explain it? Why has this all arisen? What's the reason? What do you think?

[Woman] I don't know. Probably a few people stir up the people, and they all spread rumors and everyone believes the rumor. Why do they only spread rumors and everyone believes the rumor? Why do they only show the negative side of just the Armenian people? After all, there are also inciters in Azerbaijan, people who stir up the people, make a tragedy between the people. Why don't they show their (?bad side)? Only their good side gets shown.

[Vetoshkin] So the news should be objective?

[Woman] Of course it should; only the real, true things.

[Vetoshkin] So you think the problems which worry the people should be solved, and they shouldn't incite them with this excitement... [women shout their agreement]

[Woman] Of course, of course. There must be a truthful solution, and those doing the inciting must be punished. [end recording]

[Vetoshkin] The idea of the brotherhood of the peoples is too dear to the overwhelming majority of Soviet people for any group of extremists, even a large one, to make them vacillate in a short time. But the rural communists of the republic must be given their just praise here. In many rayons they are not being led by events, but speak

continually with the people, explaining all the complications connected with the Nagorno-Karabakh situation and the inadmissibility of extremist approaches to its solution.

### Rally Backs Continued Strike

*AU2609115088 Paris AFP in English 1138 GMT 26 Sep 88*

[Bertrand de Saisset report]

[Text] Moscow, Sept 26 (AFP)—An estimated 100,000 Armenian militants demonstrated Monday in the center of Yerevan to call for continuation of an 11-day-old strike, as the situation in the Armenian capital remained tense.

The Armenian nationalists gathered in Yerevan's Opera Square to back demands for the convening of a special session of the Armenian parliament to discuss the continuing unrest.

A correspondent of the Armenian news agency ARMENPRES, contacted by telephone from Moscow, said the situation in the city was "tense."

Monday's demonstration followed the rejection of demands for a special parliamentary session by the Presidium of the local Supreme Soviet.

In a statement broadcast late Sunday on Armenian television, the Presidium said a special session on the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, which Armenians want separated from Azerbaijan and joined to neighboring Armenia, would be "useless."

The statement stressed that a regular parliamentary session was scheduled to be held next month.

The dissident Karabakh committee, which coordinates the protest movement in Armenia, reacted quickly to the rejection of the militants' demands. A committee spokesman, Ambarstum Galastyan, termed the move "a violation of the Constitution."

But he indicated that the committee favored a suspension of the strike, adding that other forms of action would be preferable.

Armenian militants meanwhile claimed that one third of the parliament's members support the convening of a special session. The Presidium said however that "pressure" had been exerted on the representatives, a charge denied by the Karabakh committee.

Mr. Galastyan told AFP by telephone that the holding of a special session is the only way "to avoid bloodshed" in Nagorno-Karabakh and nearby regions, where recent inter-ethnic clashes left 49 people injured, according to official accounts. One of the injured later died in hospital.

The militants hope that a special session will lead to a renewed call to Moscow for the detachment of the mostly-Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

However, the Soviet leadership has repeatedly and categorically rejected any transfer of sovereignty in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Mr. Galastyan said he believed the Presidium's attitude could "lead to war" in Nagorno-Karabakh and a resurgence of pro-independence militancy in Armenia.

Meanwhile, in an apparent attempt to calm the situation in Yerevan, armored military vehicles were withdrawn over the weekend from Bagramian Avenue, one of the city's main thoroughfares on which the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party is located.

Troops remained deployed along the avenue, however.

According to local inhabitants, armored vehicles were still posted on Lenin Square, where the local government has its headquarters.

The strike continued to affect public transport and local industry, the ARMENPRES correspondent said.

In Stepanakert, the chief town of Nagorno-Karabakh, a reporter for the daily SOVETSKIY KARABAKH said that most local businesses remained shut. The town has been paralysed by a strike for the past two weeks.

### 'Nationalists' Stage Demonstrations in Georgia

*AU2309134688 Paris AFP in English 1341 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow, Sept 23 (AFP)—Up to 10,000 nationalists staged a series of demonstrations in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, Wednesday and Thursday as informal Soviet-U.S. talks were underway there, organizers of the protest said.

Despite a ban on nationalist protests imposed there 10 days ago, 5,000 people gathered in front of the cinema Thursday, braving arrests and police intervention, and later joined up with another 5,000 massed at the local university, spokeswoman Tamriko Shtsheidze told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

They were demanding—and received—a promise from the republic's government to dismantle a shooting range set up in the mountains near historic monuments. Bullets had reportedly damaged some of the monuments.

On Wednesday, militiamen arrested Mrs. Shtsheidze and another nationalist leader, Zurab Tshavtshavadze, after they sneaked into the fourth meeting of representatives of Soviet and American opinion and one of them made a speech to participants.

Demonstrators later began to gather outside the hall—venue for the talks held previously in the United States and the Soviet Union's Balkan states—and militiamen arrested 40 of them.

About 5,000 protesters then gathered at the university demanding the release of those arrested. Authorities agreed, and a government representative also promised that a historic church in the city being used as public baths would be renovated for use as a church again.

However a new protest erupted Thursday and grew to number 10,000 people. They dispersed in the evening after government assurances there would be "no more police violence" and no more shooting at the mountain range, according to Mrs. Shtsheidze's group, the Ilia Tshavtshavadze Association.

The association, named for a Georgian pro-independence author assassinated in 1907, was created in December to support Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroyka reforms.

**Falin Comments on Restructuring, Ethnic Unrest**
*AU2309213488 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Interview with Valentin Falin, chief of the NOVOSTI News Agency and advisor to party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, by ORF journalist Elmar Oberhauser in Basel on 23 September—recorded]

[Text] On the sidelines of a conference in Basel, Elmar Oberhauser asked Valentin Falin whether restructuring is really in danger in the Soviet Union.

[Falin] No, there is no danger. It is only a matter of speed, of the time that is needed for carrying out what we have planned.

[Oberhauser] On the other hand, it must be admitted that Gorbachev the reformer has come under criticism. Just think of Ligachev's activities, for example. How strong is Gorbachev?

[Falin] Gorbachev can rely on the support of the activists in the party—the majority of the activists—and of the population. I think the nuances you are mentioning or hinting at are normal developments in every state. Of course, heated discussions are taking place in different spheres, also among the leadership. However, I would not interpret this as the formation of obstacles, of obstacles that cannot be overcome.

[Oberhauser] Is there a power struggle between Gorbachev and Ligachev?

[Falin] There is no basis for a power struggle. Ligachev is smart enough to understand the mood among the party and the population, so that he does not even cherish such thoughts. I am sure that both of them are capable of working well together for the joint success of the party.

[Oberhauser] Despite the optimism you are spreading, is there not something like a counter-restructuring, or resistance against all that. How would you assess that?

[Falin] Yes, there is. There are people within the party who believe restructuring represents a violation of the classical interpretation of socialism. These are the dogmatists who do not listen to reason and who do not view socialism as a human theory but as a scholastic doctrine that only exists for itself. There are people who are afraid that, as a result of restructuring, they will lose their warm places and comfortable chairs and that their families will be facing new situations, and they would like these places to continue to exist. However, these places only exist for them; they are of no use to the economy.

[Oberhauser] In addition to the difficulties concerning structural reform, the USSR leadership is facing problems with ethnic groups, such as unrest in the Baltic republics and in Nagorno-Karabakh, where Armenians and Azerbajanis are fighting against each other. How can a solution be found? How will things develop there?

[Falin] I would say that in each region various factors coincide. In some regions these are rather social and economic factors, in others it is the relations between ethnic groups that live in the same village, in the same town. There are no general rules for that. I would say concrete actions are carried out in every situation; but ultimately, and in due time, we will solve and overcome these problems.

[Oberhauser] Concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, the Supreme Soviet made a different decision than the regional parliament. Now a revision of this decision is being massively demanded. The atmosphere is very tense at the moment. Do you regard it possible that the Supreme Soviet will reconsider this decision?

[Falin] I think that for every long-term political solution a calm situation is needed.

[Oberhauser] However, according to reports tanks have been sent to the region. Is this a possibility of calming people?

[Falin] It is a possibility of preventing sacrifices. Shots have already been fired and knives have been used.

[Oberhauser] Do you think you can predict by what time a pacification, a solution, a calm situation can be achieved?

[Falin] Probably not this year, but next year we will be much closer to a solution.

**Burlatskiy on Cooperation in Human Rights**
*LD2509101188 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] A prominent Soviet public figure, Fedor Burlatskiy, has spoken out for further international cooperation in the area of human rights protection. Fedor Burlatskiy is the head of a new public organization, the commission on international cooperation in humanitarian relations and human rights.

Fedor Burlatskiy said the commission had already established contacts with some 15 international organizations. In his opinion the release of a number of Soviet dissidents from prison and permission for Jewish people to leave this country were graphic instances of the democratization processes under way in the Soviet Union.

**Chernobyl Worker Complains About Kiev Housing**
*PM2609102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Letter from A. Kostyuchenko, operator at the Chernobyl AES chemicals shop, followed by commentary by PRAVDA correspondent M. Odinets: "Circle of Indifference"]

[Text] I work at the Chernobyl AES. When the accident occurred at the Chernobyl AES, I was working. I was a casualty and I received medical treatment. Now I am back at work. After the evacuation I received a one-room apartment in Kiev. When the treatment was finished, I once again started work as an operator in the station's chemicals shop. Last fall I decided to get married to Nadezhda Karzova from Pripyat, who also received an apartment in Kiev after the evacuation. Moreover, it was on the same street as my apartment. We got married and started to ask the local authorities to exchange two one-room apartments for one three-room apartment and to give me, my wife, and her daughter a permanent residence permit.

Then the red tape started. Our AES veteran V. Chugunov, a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference, took it upon himself to help us. When he was in Moscow at the conference he made sure that the question was decided positively. But time passed and the affair did not progress. I appealed to the party obkom industrial department, where I was treated sympathetically. Its workers contacted the leadership of the USSR Ministry for Nuclear Power Generation, where they confirmed the need to give me assistance. But because this did not help, the people in the obkom petitioned the Kiev Gorispolkom, but the situation is the same as before. The bureaucrats continue to be unperturbed; they are trampling on people's basic requests and needs and breaching our laws.

A. Kostyuchenko, operator at the Chernobyl AES chemicals shop.

Correspondent's commentary: On investigating the circumstances about which the author of this letter writes, I found out that a group of workers of one of the Chernobyl AES shifts had asked for the working day at the station and the distribution of housing in Slavutich to be regularized, for facilities there to be improved, and for a firm, final decision to be obtained about permanent residence for the Chernobyl AES workers who had received accommodations in Kiev after the accident. All these problems are acutely worrying for the people who work at the power station. Concern about the station workers' everyday living conditions and housing still leave a lot to be desired. They are complaining that they are living from hand to mouth in Kiev, and their work at the station has not been regularized. People are tired of the endless trips from Kiev to the AES, from the station to Zelenyy Mys, from Slavutich to the Chernobyl AES.

Leading workers from the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and representatives from the Kiev Oblispolkom and Gorispolkom and party organs came again to Chernobyl and Slavutich. Conversations were held with workers, who made fair demands, and promises to resolve the problems raised by them were given. Let us hope that A. Kostyuchenko, operator at the Chernobyl AES chemicals shop, will not end up once again in this circle of indifference....

**Writer Discusses Teaching of Ukrainian Language**
*AU2309122788 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 18 Sep 88 p 2*

[Article by V. Panchenko, responsible secretary of Kirovograd organization of the Ukrainian Writers Union: "A Language Festival: Before and After"]

[Excerpts] **A republic-level native language festival is about to open in Kirovograd Oblast. Its program calls for creative writers' meetings in labor collectives and schools, concerts given by children's folklore groups, poetry recitals, literary fairs, stage-adapted concerts, and native language weeks at schools.... Guests will be welcome at the "Nadiya" small-village preserve, and there will be festivities at the native villages of Yu. Yanovskyy and I. Mykytenko....**

However, some readers of the oblast paper KIROVOHRADSKA PRAVDA, which has been publishing a "Native Language" column for several months, are asking even now: What is the occasion for festivities? Some 86.9 percent of the total oblast population are Ukrainians. In Kirovograd, their share amounts to 76.4 percent. But out of the 30 schools in Kirovograd only 4 teach in Ukrainian. There are few Ukrainian-language kindergartens, but even the existing ones are Ukrainian only in name. In teaching, the Ukrainian language is almost nonexistent at vocational schools, technical colleges, the Agricultural Machine Building Institute, and even at cultural enlightenment and teachers training establishments.

What, then, is the occasion for a festival that is to be held under the poetic motto: "Be strong, our beautiful language, among the beautiful sisterly languages?"

The need to go back to the Leninist principles of Soviet federation, to the principles of equality and internationalist unity among nations, among their cultures and languages, has become, as the most recent developments show, highly pressing. [passage omitted]

After all, hundreds (if not thousands!) of young Ukrainians from Kirovograd, Svetlovodsk, Aleksandriya, and Znamenka cannot speak their native language properly, and know next to nothing about the history of their homeland, and in particular the history of the Ukraine. There are two extremes, both incompatible with socialist internationalism: national isolation and national nihilism. I do not think that the internationalist convictions of young Kirovograd Oblast people are in any serious way jeopardized by the tendencies of national isolation (although, of course, "preventive" measures should also be taken in this field). But the proportions of national nihilism are sizable, and consistent ideological, cultural, and educational efforts are needed at present to eradicate it. [passage omitted]

**Meeting Commemorates Nazi Babiy Yar Massacre**
*LD2509133888 Moscow TASS in English 1251 GMT 25 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—The Soviet public held a meeting at the Vostryakov cemetery in Moscow today to mark the 47th anniversary of the massacres of Soviet citizens in Kiev by Nazis.

On September 29-30, 1941 shots rang out at Babiy Yar, then an outskirt of Kiev, which marked the beginning of one of the links in the chain of heinous crimes by Nazis against humanity. In those days 33,770 Jews were shot deat. In the 26 months of occupation of Kiev, Babiy Yar became the grave for nearly 100,000 Soviet people—civilians, POWs, guerrillas and undergound workers.

"We have gathered here to pay tribute to the memory of Babiy Yar victims—Jews, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Moldavians, Russians, Kazakhs and Georgians—Soviet people of many nationalities who became victims of the policy of genocide pursued by Nazi occupiers," Lev Shapiro, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said opening the meeting.

Yakov Kaper, from Kiev, who escaped by lucky chance, related the horrors of Babiy Yar.

Other speakers, including Mark Tilevich, vice president of the International Committee of the Former Inmates of Sachsenhausen, Yulian Shulmeister, a Lvov University teacher, and Yefim Ruzhinskiy, steelmaker from Krivoy Rog, spoke about nearly 50 years of unmitigated pain and sorrow for Jewish victims.

Viktor Pushkarev, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, stressed that the fate of Jews living in the Soviet Union and Western Europe was decided in the bloody fight with fascism along with the question of whether the Soviet Union would exist at all. Twenty million people of various nationalities sacrificed their lives for the victory over the enemy. This victory saved Jews from complete annihilation, as was envisaged under Nazi plans.

Speakers spoke about their duty before the dead, about the responsibility of the current generation for the preservation and development of national culture and national traditions of each nation.

Participants in the meeting noted that the grueling test had brought together and hardened the peoples of the Soviet Union. They were together in the great liberation war, they are also together in the great creative endeavour. The drive for perestroyka will be a success only if friendship of the peoples of the country will be strong.

**Obituary of Former Minister Zolotukhin**
*PM2609102988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 8*

[Obituary of Grigoriy Sergeyevich Zolotukhin]

[Excerpts] Grigoriy Sergeyevich Zolotukhin, personal pensioner of union status, died 20 September 1988 aged 76. [passage omitted]

After graduating from the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School in 1949, he was chief of the agricultural department and secretary of the Tambov CPSU Obkom and second secretary and first secretary of Tambov CPSU Obkom as of 1951 and 1955, respectively. From 1966 G.S. Zolotukhin worked as first secretary of Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom, in 1973 he became minister of procurements, and in 1985 USSR minister of grain products. As of 1987 G.S. Zolotukhin worked as an adviser to the USSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, Ye.K.Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, G.P. Razumovskiy, V.S. Murakhovskiy, I.I. Skiba, A.D. Budyk, B.I. Gostev, P.A. Paskar, L.N. Yefremov, L.B. Yermin, A.A. Nikonov, M.L. Timoshishin, A.A. Kochkonyan.

**Moscow Produce Supply Problems Discussed**
*PM2609091588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Correspondent Yu. Kazmin report under the rubric "PRAVDA Spoke Out. What Has Been Done?": "Fighting Irresponsibility"]

[Text] Moscow—The report "Taking Vegetables to the Capital..." written from the cab of a refrigerated truck and published in PRAVDA 19 September has aroused a

great public response. That day there were many indignant telephone calls to the editorial office. Readers demanded that the slackers be called strictly to account and that the names be given of the irresponsible people who are to blame for the fact that refrigerated trucks are going back and forth across the whole country carrying fruit and vegetables, and through whose criminal negligence thousands of tonnes of produce grown by our sovkhoz and kolkhoz workers are going to waste. The item in PRAVDA provided the impetus and point of departure for a highly impartial discussion at the Moscow party gorkom bureau session 2 days after the report was published.

The keynote speakers and other speakers in the debates were specific and self-critical; this promoted the businesslike atmosphere and democratic character of the fundamental discussion of the major problem of supplying the capital's residents with foodstuffs.

V. Belyaninov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom:

"The city's fruit and vegetable industry has switched to economic accountability and self-financing. Depots and stores are introducing the collective contract, flexible pricing, and economic incentives for storage, prompt unloading, and the commercial preparation and sale of output. In the past 2 years construction workers have built fruit and vegetable storage facilities with a capacity of 117,000 tonnes, of which 99,000 tonnes is in Moscow Oblast. Nineteen specialist stores have gone into operation, and trade, processing, and other equipment worth R25 million has been installed in the fruit and vegetable industry system.

"In the past few days more than 25,000 tonnes of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit have been arriving in Moscow each day, carried by around 400 freight cars and 1,500 vehicles. As of 20 September 1,200,000 tonnes of fruit and vegetables had been supplied to the city and more than one-third of the plan for potatoes and half of the planned quantity of other vegetables had been delivered. The delivery of potatoes is 23 percent above last year's rate while for other vegetables the figure is 12 percent higher.

"There is a whole series of chronic unresolved problems. The age-old complaints have reappeared this year: disorganization; inefficiency of leaders of various ranks, from the Moscow City Agroprom and Moscow City Main Administration for the Fruit and Vegetable Industry down to rayon level; attempts to avoid the fundamental solution of the problem; and inability to organize work in one's own section. In a number of cases there has also been outright sabotage of the introduction of economic management methods. The situation is aggravated by the delivery to the city of a large quantity of substandard produce. In the past 8 months 63,300 tonnes of produce, or 11.4 percent of all deliveries, was substandard. A number of consignments of fruit and vegetables had an increased nitrate content."

Many speakers sharply criticized the USSR Gosagroprom quality inspectorate for the lack of effective on-site monitoring. The reasons for this are a shortage of the instruments which determine the quantity of nitrates in vegetables and fruit and also the imperfect method of determining produce quality. There is an objective factor here: The poor organization of storage and shipment leads directly to the theft of vegetables and fruit. The following facts were also cited. In the first 8 months 2,500 people were arrested for stealing the people's property. Investigative organs uncovered organized criminal groups at the Krasnogvardeyskiy, Kuntsevskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Perovskiy, and Cheremushkinskiy wholesale and retail fruit and vegetable associations.

P. Bogdanov, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom main internal affairs administrations, provided the following evidence:

"Organized criminal gangs have become established at the city's vegetable depots. The leaders have been deliberately covering up thefts and losses. At one rayon depot a shortage of dried fruits worth R500,000 has been discovered. The city does not have a strong financial audit service and a good audit cannot be carried out. There is no effective control of the removal of waste produce that has been written off. Casual workers with criminal records work at the depots. In Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon a certain Ibragimov caused losses of R1.5 million through shady dealings involving rotten onions, yet he is being admitted as a candidate member of the CPSU. We can hardly hope to establish order with cadres like that."

V. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom:

"The Crimean Oblast and Stavropol and Krasnodar Krays have been sending green crops, radishes, and pumpkins of very poor quality.... In 1988 alone 43,100 tonnes of substandard produce have been removed from the delivery plan, of which around 12,000 tonnes were supplied in August. All this demonstrates that the trend of supplying low quality produce is on the increase."

Very often Gosagroprom local inspectors do not check output which is being shipped a long way. The customers suffer and transport is not used rationally.

Delay in solving the problem of supplying the market with high quality foodstuffs is developing into an acute social and political problem—that was the stern judgment of the prevailing situation by members of the Moscow party gorkom bureau. It creates in people a lack of confidence in the implementation of large-scale transformations and gives rise to unhealthy rumors and attitudes. Moscow's Communists are instructed to see omissions and shortcomings in this vitally important work from the viewpoint of political and party responsibility for their consequences. It was noted that the leaders of the Moscow City Agroprom (Comrade Luzhkov), the Moscow City Main Administration for the

Fruit and Vegetable Industry (Comrade Virichev), soviet rayispolkoms, and trade and transport enterprises failed to ensure the proper organization of the shipment, acceptance, storage, and sale of potatoes, other vegetables, and fruit. They have been severely punished.

The Moscow party gorkom bureau instructed leaders of the Moscow Gorispolkom, trade, and transport to eliminate all those shortcomings and to provide the city with the necessary resources for uninterrupted trade until the new harvest. It is deemed necessary to take measures to raise the standard of management of the fruit and vegetable industry so as to ensure the stable work of associations on the basis of economic accountability and self-financing.

Summing up the results of the principled discussion, L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow party gorkom, noted that the time has come for an end to the waiting lines and the sale of unfit produce. Muscovites assess the progress of restructuring in terms of the goods in the stores. But at the height of the harvest we could not organize normal working. We speak in the new way but we work in the old way. We cannot tolerate that any longer.

### Earthquake in Tajikistan; Damage, No Casualties

*LD2609084188 Moscow TASS in English 0821 GMT 26 Sep 88*

[Text] Dushanbe September 26 TASS—A series of earth tremors on the territory of Tajikistan (the Soviet Central Asian Republic) on the night of September 25-26 aroused from sleep residents of a number of settlements in the republic. According to the Dushanbe seismic station, the strongest earth tremor, measuring force 5-6 occurred at 23 hours 53 minutes Moscow time [2053 GMT] on September 25 with the epicentre in Horog, the administrative centre of Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region. According to preliminary data, economic facilities and old dwellings were destroyed in the town. There are no casualties. The force of earth tremors was measured at 3-4 in Dushanbe and Kulyab, at 3 in Rogun and at 2-3 in Gissar.

### Briefs

#### 'Closed' Archives Opened

Moscow, 24 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Petr Lidin writes: In the large display of archive material in one of the pavilions of the exhibition of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy, genuine documents, which even quite recently were considered "closed", can be seen. Perestroyka has opened access to them. Within the past year alone, within the policy of glasnost, restrictions have been lifted on access to more than 500,000 items kept in Soviet archives. The process of "opening-up" the archives is continuing. Of course, the proportion of "closed" matters was not all that great. But the ban was seen as painful, because the restrictions concerned important events and periods in the life of the country. [Excerpt] [*LD2509004488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0405 GMT 24 Sep 88*]

#### Alma-Ata Periodical Exchange

Alma-Ata's Organization for the Distribution of the Periodical Press of the USSR Communications Ministry has undertaken to increase the number of readers of periodicals without changing the volume of periodicals supplied for retail trade sales. Beginning 22 September, the reception of periodicals in acutely short supply from the population has been organized in a few of the city's newsstands. This new form of service has, for the time being, been introduced as an experiment at the request of Alma-Ata residents. At the moment, the majority of such publications like LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, and OGONEK are being distributed on the basis of subscriptions, while demand for them is growing. That is why it was decided in Alma-Ata to make up for the shortage of these popular publications. To begin with, weeklies are being accepted from the townfolk, but in due course the purchase and sale of popular sociopolitical and literary magazines will also be organized. The benefit of this innovation is obvious: More people will be given the opportunity to more fully meet their reading needs. [Text] [*LD2409005888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 23 Sep 88*]

## Economic

### Supreme Soviet Commissions Debate Draft Plan

*LD2109122488 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 21 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—By TASS commentary Boris Prokhorov:

The commissions of both chambers of the Soviet parliament have opened debates on the draft plan for the nation's economic and social development in 1989 and budget estimates for that year, which will then be put before a full-scale session of the Supreme Soviet.

The draft submitted by the government differs markedly from plans discussed in previous years: it has been drawn up after the 19th national party conference with a view to translating political decisions made there into specific economic directives.

Emphasis is on turning the economy around to face social problems squarely.

When Mikhail Gorbachev was visiting eastern Siberia recently, the priority given to social planning showed clearly in his meetings with local working people in town and country and in his major speech to their representatives in Krasnoyarsk.

The keynote conclusion of the party conference on the need to face up to popular requirements is now distinctly manifest in the draft plan for next year as well.

It is hardly worth citing any specific figures as many of them are bound to be changed: judging by the first sittings of the parliamentary commissions, the debates will be heated and there will be quite a few amendments.

But I would still like to mention some of the tentative targets. The draft provides for the production of consumer goods in 1989 to grow by 6.7 percent and that of producer goods by merely 2.5 percent. This means that consumer goods manufacture will be growing 2.5 times faster for the first time ever in the USSR.

There are also other gladdening new developments.

But one has to speak of distressing things as well. While the whole of the national economy will be converted to profit-and-loss accounting next year, there are many factories that cannot pay their own way and make combined losses running into 11,000 million roubles every year.

This is one reason behind the state budget deficit. The latter problem, incidentally, will be discussed by the MP's for the first time.

The most important distinctive feature of the suggested plan is, however, a real turn to popular needs.

None of Gorbachev's meetings with people in the Krasnoyarsk territory went without somebody raising the housing problem which is most acute. In a kind of response to such grievances, the draft plan provies for surpassing the challenging home-building target earlier fixed in the five-year plan by as many as 200,000 apartments in 1989.

## UK Daily Cites Abalkin on Economic Situation

*PM2309185188 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 23 Sep 88 p 14*

[Xan Smiley report; "Soviet Shortage of Basic Foods Getting Worse"]

[Text] Moscow—A bleak survey of food supplies across the Soviet Union shows there is less and less on offer, while one of Mr Gorbachev's senior economic advisers says that reform cannot be expected to take real effect for another two years.

The Soviet leader himself has raised the vexed question of basic food shortages, but the latest article on shortages provides unusual detail and confirms that the situation outside the great cities, where few foreigners travel, is far worse.

Mr Leonid Abalkin, a top economist, giving a wider picture of the economy, presents a string of gloomy statistics showing how dire are the straits in which the Soviet economy finds itself.

The value of exports has dropped 10 per cent in the past two years, he says, while the country's economic arbiters are still arguing about how radically the next five-year plan, due in two years, should depart from previous practice.

If the more radical course is taken, "the completion of the reforms can be expected only at the start of the 1990s—then we can expect serious changes in the economy", he says in an interview in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

The most complex aspects of the reforms, including reforms in prices, financial credit and marketing, will also take two years—"that's the most optimistic length of time".

Mr Abalkin also recommended large-scale closure of loss-making enterprises, hinting that some unemployment is inevitable.

Published in outline in MOSCOW NEWS, the food report, complementing Mr Abalkin's more general view, says bluntly that the Soviet people are far worse off than their counterparts in the "developed countries" both in choice and in availability of fruit, meat, vegetables, cheese and margarine. The article focuses on one of Russia's historic towns, Kostroma, where there are no rations for meat because there is none to sell in the state shops.

Milk and dairy products are spasmodic "and disappear in a flash". Supplies of fruit and vegetables are "very poor in choice" even in September. Sugar is sold by ration coupons, and there are no bananas, coffee, or citrus products. The only regular fish is the unglamorous carp, while even the city's own famous Kostroma cheese is available only to war veterans and invalids.

Meanwhile retail prices are going up, says the report, which was originally circulated in only 60 copies, notes the pro-glasnost MOSCOW NEWS with disapproval. The report says supplies are slightly better in the big cities (population more than 100,000).

## Bank Chairman Discusses Insolvent Enterprises

PM2209145388 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian for 20 September carries on page 2 under the headline "You Cannot Call Them Bankrupt, But They Have No Money to Pay" a 1,500-word unattributed feature under the "In the Mirror of Statistics" rubric. It opens with the following introduction:

"How is restructuring progressing? What changes have occurred in our economy during the last year? What are its successes? What are its losses? Today these questions perturb every Soviet person. We are used to the nationwide press publicity given to winners of all-union socialist competition and labor vigils... But we bashfully keep silent about unsuccessful enterprises. Today we publish the names of insolvent industrial enterprises and organizations."

There follows a list of 13 enterprises proclaimed insolvent by the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction and 17 enterprises proclaimed insolvent by the USSR Bank for Housing and Social Construction, and a brief summary of the financial position of 3 of them. SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA goes on:

"What are the causes of this situation? How will these enterprises operate tomorrow? Will the labor collectives manage to repay their debts to the state? These questions from our special correspondent S. Korepanov were answered by M. Zotov, chairman of the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction Board:

"In most cases, the cause of this calamitous situation is economic mismanagement and waste not only by leaders but also by enterprise and organization workers themselves.

"We have published our bank's list of these insolvent enterprises. But there are many more candidates for this unseemly title. In this context we need a comprehensive program to transfer such enterprises and organizations to new forms of production organization and management. It would evidently be worthwhile to wind up some of them as being no longer necessary or to convert them to the production of articles needed by the people. True, it is still not known who would undertake the implementation of such a program—the ministries or the enterprises themselves.

"Not everything is capable of being solved 'from above'—the initiative must come primarily from labor collectives themselves. After all, they are in the best position to know what their enterprise should be like and how it should develop. But practice shows that workers themselves are often not familiar with the state of affairs, lack any knowledge of important indicators like the enterprise's profitability, and have no idea whether it is ultimately profitable or loss-making and what its stocks of raw materials and finished products are like... This is not a new phenomenon, this situation developed back at the time when labor collectives had virtually nothing to do with management. But even now, when the Law on the State Enterprise is in force and labor collective councils exist, leaders still prefer to retain their monopoly of management, which means the ability to actually conceal their official misdeeds. For example, one of Tyumen's enterprises was recently notified of its insolvency. The news struck the entire labor collective like a bolt from the blue: After all, they were all convinced that they were living within their means. There was an unpleasant development when it came to explanations by the former leader. A plant collective meeting dismissed him from office and elected a new director to get the enterprise out of its difficulties.

"Leaders of the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction, like those of the country's other banks, are interested in publicizing the names of debtor enterprises and letting the public pass judgment. To keep silent would mean concealing the true state of our economy, the miscalculations by enterprise and ministry leaders, and at times even their official incompetence.

"We proclaim enterprises insolvent. Do not confuse them with bankrupt enterprises—this term does not yet exist in our legislation. But the Law on the State Enterprise contains a paragraph under which loss-making enterprises can be wound up.

"But enterprises proclaimed insolvent can still regain their lost financial positions. There is a time limit for implementation of measures to improve the situation—not more than 6 months. The enterprise is transferred to a special credit and payment regime, in other words an end is put to all allocation of new loans, while previously granted loans become immediately payable. The bank is given the ri[illegible]' to appropriate all earnings from sales of the enterprise's output and to use these sums to repay overdue debts. Even so, there is a chance of salvation...

"Even though an enterprise has been proclaimed insolvent, the bank does not 'abandon' it but, on the contrary, joins it in seeking ways out of the prevailing situation. In some cases it is our duty to also provide credit facilities if economic calculations and measures can guarantee the repayment of loans.

"If this does not happen, the loss-making enterprise may be disbanded or handed over under a leasing contract or to a cooperative. There are already cases of leased enterprises achieving sound results. I am confident that such democratic forms of production organization will justify themselves."

## Briefs

### International Bank Agreement

Moscow, 23 Sep (TASS)—The USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and the International Bank for Economic Cooperation today in Moscow signed an agreement on settlements and the keeping of accounts for the purposes of using the national currencies of CEMA member countries in operations between them. The document is a practical step toward implementing the decisions of sittings of the CEMA session and is aimed at promoting the development of new forms of economic cooperation among CEMA member countries. [Text] [*LD2409010888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 23 Sep 88*]

## Agricultural

### PRAVDA Reviews Progress in Feed Procurement

*PM2309153388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1*

[A. Murzin agricultural review under the rubric "What the Figures Say": "Fall Generates Fertility"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that by 19 September 98 million hectares of grain and pulse crops had been threshed. That is 90 percent of the sown area. Some 14.8 million hectares of corn have been harvested and 1.5 million hectares of potatoes have been lifted, which is 74 and 59 percent of the respective areas. Some 26 million hectares of winter grain have been sown.

Feed procurement is still requiring the utmost effort everywhere.

Of course farmers are still laying in corn for silage, harvesting root crops, or cutting perennial grasses for the second or third time. They will go a fair way toward replenishing stocks of nourishing feed. But the forage situation is such that it is necessary to harvest literally everything that is harvestable and utilize all field crop waste, above all beet tops and straw.

A special word about straw. PRAVDA wrote recently about its being burned in the Kuban. But is that the only place? Straw burning has gone on for decades all over the country in fall and spring. In Vitebsk Oblast, reader N. Kozyanin writes, they even burn the stacks of straw left over after the winter. Indeed, at least one-fourth of the approximately 100 million tonnes of straw obtained annually in the country is not used. It is burned. Right there in the field.

Those who do it are perfectly aware that it is not just wasteful, but barbaric. We are losing mountains, indeed Everests of such essential so-called volume feed, particularly if the straw is properly prepared: shredded, steamed, and enriched with nutritious additives. The amount of straw getting to livestock units as litter is extremely small, yet it is the best material for the "self-manufacture" of valuable manure. Rarely do you see combines in fields being pursued by straw-collectors, stackers, machines to roll it into bales, let alone straw shredders. But chopped straw makes a fine mulch for the soil and preserves the moisture in it. It is also a biological fertilizer. Finally, the "straw fires," which turn millions of tons of biological materials in the fields to ashes, totally destroy all small insects and the microflora in the topsoil, thus sharply reducing soil fertility.

It is time straw was seen as part of the state feed stock. Not only in the Kuban, but everywhere we must set up facilities on farms and small plants in rayons to make pellets out of straw. It is the only kind of feed that can reasonably be transported within the farm and over long distances to places where feed is lacking, rather than delivering a whole load of "straw air," which is the rather dumb practice at the moment. But what you obviously need above all to be able to do this is to have machines on every farm capable of rapidly gathering and baling or rolling all the straw intended for transportation and processing for feed purposes. It is time the harvesting sequence was accompanied everywhere by straw processing.

Fall is nature's most profitable time for preoccupying yourself with the next harvest. And it is not only a matter of fall plowing, sowing of winter crops, and seed procurement. The fall period before the heavy frosts and snow is the best time for a variety of work to increase soil fertility. This is done most successfully when the battle for fertility becomes a kind of independent production sector, a kind of fertility generator. There are many examples of this. Special fertility detachments are operating all year round in Mari ASSR. They are putting hundreds of thousands of tonnes of organic fertilizers on the fields. But not only that. They are also bringing wasteland into play and carrying out soil improvement work. They also carry out circular plowing properly and make the fields as pretty as a picture, leaving the various paths and tracks across them and not allowing weeds to spread and encroach. Liming is also one of the detachments' duties.

The first peat and compost factory supplying farms with first-class fertilizers is operating all year round in Lvov Oblast. A vast amount of work is now being done in Tataria to deacidify the soil: On field after field they are systematically applying the requisite doses of lime and dolomite. For some years now they have been carrying out... winter sowing in the Zhdanov Sovkhoz in Chimkent Oblast. They are again procuring winter fat and izen [translation unknown] seeds to sow them in the snow-bound fields and obtain fine-quality herbage on pastures in the summer. Some 9,000 hectares of these rejuvenated pastures are now being used in the sovkhoz.

There is any number of ways of creating fertile, properly cultivated fields. But at the top of the list of methods of resolutely increasing soil fertility, which is declining disastrously everywhere, is, as Muscovite P. Smirnov put it in a letter, "organic fertilizer in its supreme form—manure." Unfortunately, the statistics are not pleasing: The country's farmers are still only applying around 5 tonnes of this fertilizer per hectare. And this average figure says nothing, because the range of doses is so great: In leading farms, rayons, and oblasts they apply between 20 and 100 tonnes of manure per hectare, while in the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes we are talking literally in terms of kilograms.

Again the problem is the absence of the various pieces of equipment needed to set up yet another very important process in agricultural production: the process of organic fertilizer preparation—from straw, as mentioned above, manure, and peat and compost, to the processing of all organic material lying around unused on farms. There is

a particular need for this production process at large livestock raising complexes, where the designers did not provide for any method of manure removal, apart from sluicing-out. As a result, in Uzbekistan alone, 20 million tonnes of manure go to waste every year and are carried by the water into rivers and lakes, poisoning both water and the environment and aggravating the ecological crisis. Unfortunately, it happens wherever there are large livestock complexes. To all appearances, no one in the Gosagroprom intends to tackle the problem. And this at a time when the organic fertilizers situation in the country is just awful.

The growth of future harvests entirely depends on the fertility of the land. And it is very important that every farm should have its own fertility section engaged in enriching the soil. The soil is the foundation of the country's agriculture, the improvement of whose efficiency was so keenly emphasized at the recent meetings in Krasnoyarsk, in M.S. Gorbachev's conversations and speeches. The time has come, many readers are saying in their letters to PRAVDA, to make farms more strictly responsible for the state of their fields' fertility for the land is our chief asset and main production source.

## Grain Harvesting Statistics Reported

PM2309143988 [Editorial Report] Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian for 23 September front-pages a series of grain reports providing the following information:

The first report, entitled "Report From the USSR State Committee for Statistics," says:

"According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, on 19 September 98.1 million hectares of grain and pulse crops had been harvested—this is 90 percent of the total sown area. There are still 6.8 million hectares of cereal crops to be threshed—mainly in Eastern and Western Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the Urals.

"At present only 620,000 hectares of corn cobs have been harvested throughout the country as a whole. One-fifth of the sunflower crop has been threshed. A total of 452,000 hectares of sugar beet have been dug. Processing enterprises have manufactured the first sugar from the new harvest. More than 1.2 million tonnes of raw cotton have been procured. This is 580,000 tonnes more than last year. Ninety percent of the long-stemmed flax crop has been pulled. Forty percent of the potato crop has still to be dug and 56 percent of the vegetable crop harvested.

"The foundations for the next harvest are being laid. Winter crops have been sown over 30 million hectares—this is 74 percent of the planned area. Fall plowing work has been carried out over 49.8 million hectares—this is 45 percent of the plan."

SELSKAYA ZHIZN also carries a report by correspondent N. Tereshko in Zdolbunovskiy Rayon under the heading "From the Corn Fields," which opens with the following figures:

"On 19 September farms throughout the country had procured (in millions of tonnes): Hay—75.7; haylage—83.9; straw, chaff, and other coarse feed—80.3; and silage—197.3. They had produced 4,342,000 tonnes of green dried feed and laid in store a total of 120,991,000 tonnes of feed units, which is 104 percent of last year's level and equivalent to 13.93 quintals per head of cattle. The feed procurement process is continuing."

A TASS report datelined Kiev, 22 September under the heading "Into the State Granaries" incorporates the following information:

"A total of 500,000 tonnes of grain have been taken to grain elevators and reception centers in Kiev Oblast. The order for grain sales to the state has thereby been met.

"The oblast has produced an average of just over 31 quintals of grain.

"A total of 125,000 tonnes of valuable kinds of wheat have now been poured into the granaries—contractual obligations have been met more than 3.5 times over.

"Grain sales to the state are continuing."

Finally, in relation to Zhitomir and Volyn Oblasts, this same TASS report says:

"Orders for grain sales to the state have been met by rural workers in Zhitomir Oblast, who have supplied our country's granaries with 240,000 tonnes of grain; Volyn Oblast has produced 140,000 tonnes of grain from its fields."

## Statistics Committee Reports Harvest Progress

*LD2209112088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 88*

[Commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy report]

[Text] Across the country harvesting is being completed. According to the State Committee for Statistics' regular summary today, by the beginning of this week 90 percent of land sown with cereals had been cut. In general, the weather over the last few days has been favorable for harvesting. Only in Siberia, especially in the western part and in northern Kazakhstan, has rain made threshing more difficult. Plans for state grain purchase have been fulfilled in Belorussia as well as in the Transcaucasian republics, in a series of oblasts in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. At present an average of 500,000 hectares of cereal are being harvested each 24-hour period.

Last week was very strenuous for sunflower plantations. Here the harvest is proceeding significantly faster than last year—approximately 20 percent of the harvest has been brought in.

Mass harvesting is being carried out in the beet sector. Here on the farms efforts are being made to bring in the harvest strictly according to the timetable in order to keep the processing enterprises working at the optimum level and at the same time to allow the sugar beet roots to increase in weight. After all, the yield increases every day. However, the harvest should not be drawn out so that one runs into bad weather.

On farms cultivating flax, the harvest is proceeding in a relatively organized manner. Flax has been pulled on 9 of every 10 hectares.

Over the past few days the rates of lifting potatoes have increased noticeably. The crop has been harvested from 1.5 million hectares, or 59 percent of the land planted with this crop.

Feed reserves continue to increase. A particularly large quantity has been laid down for silage during the past week. In all, more than 197 million tonnes of feed have been stored. The lifting of root feed crops has also begun. These will also significantly increase feed reserves.

Other traditional autumnal work is being carried out. It should be said that winter sowing is being performed in favorable conditions this autumn. At present 30 million hectares have been sown. This is almost three-fourths of the area to be sown with winter crops. In those oblasts where the optimum periods for sowing have already passed, the sowing plans have as a rule been fulfilled. Autumn plowing is proceeding faster than last year with about 50 million hectares ready for the upcoming spring sowing.

## Scientific

### 'Cosmos-1900' May Descend 4-8 October

*LD2409192788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; "TASS announcement," identified by caption]

[Text] As has already been announced, radio communication has been lost with the "Cosmos-1900" satellite. It was launched into orbit by the Soviet Union on 12 December 1987 and was designed to observe ocean surfaces. There is a nuclear powered installation on board the satellite. At present, the satellite is continuing on its guided flight. Its basic service systems, including the fueling system, are working normally.

On September 23, the flight paramaters of "Cosmos-1900" were 214 km at its apogee, and 193 km at its perigee.

The "Cosmos-1900" is equipped with basic and back-up radiation safety systems in accordance with the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Use of Space for Peaceful Purposes. The basic system is designed to remove the nuclear power installation at a high orbit, which ensures a lowering of its radioactivity to a safe level. The design of the satellite envisages the automatic switching on of the withdrawal system should there be a violation of its orientation, should the instrument module cease to be airtight, or should there be an occurence of a deviation in the system of on-board fueling.

With the lack of radio communication with the satellite, this switching off could happen at any time, right up to the triggering of the back-up safety system. The back-up system, which will start working should the basic one fail, ensures the separation of the reactor's active zone from the body of the reactor, during descent through the atmosphere and its heating up at a height of about 100 km.

This separation of the active zone and its independent entry into the atmosphere guarantees that it will burn up completely in the dense layers of the atmosphere, and that the fuel will disintegrate, break up into small pieces, in such a way that this will have no significant effect on the radiation situation in the area where it falls.

According to forecasts, in conditions of a stabilized flight, if the withdrawal of the nuclear energy installation has not already taken place, the entry of the satellite into the dense layers of the atmosphere is expected 4-8 October 1988. At present, while the guided flight of the "Cosmos-1900" continues, an accurate forecast of the time and place of its entry into the dense layers of the atmosphere is not possible. The competent services of the Soviet Union are continuing their careful observations of the satellite. Official information on the flight of the "Cosmos-1900" satellite has been sent to the United Nations and the IAEA.

Supplementary information on the satellite will be reported.

### 'Cosmos-1973' Satellite Launched 22 Sep

*LD2309094388 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—An artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1973, was launched by a Soyuz booster rocket in the Soviet Union on September 22.

The satellite carries scientific equipment intended for continuing the exploration of outer space.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:
Initial period of revolution—90.2 minutes,
Maximum distance from the earth's surface (in apogee)—395 kilometres,

Minimum distance from the earth's surface (in perigee)—206 kilometres,
Inclination of the orbit—72.9 degrees.

Apart from the scientific equipment, the satellite carries a radio system for accurate measurement of orbit elements, and a radio telemetric system for transmitting back to earth data on the work of the instruments and scientific equipment.

The on-board equipment is operating normally.

The coordination-and-computer centre is processing the incoming data.

## Military

### 'Autumn-88' Exercise Achieves Objectives

*LD2309134388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1242 GMT 23 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow, 23 Sep (TASS)—A command-staff excercise with specially designated troops under the code name "Autumn 88" was conducted on the territory of the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the adjacent area of the Black Sea from 15 to 23 September.

Combat teamwork and the interaction of the staffs were rehearsed. The excercise passed in an organized way and demonstrated the required level of operational-tactical training of the staffs.

The objectives set before the exercise have been achieved. The staffs and the specially designated troops which took part in it are returning to the areas where they are permanently stationed.

### Deputy Chief of Staff on Effects of Glasnost

*PM2309141088 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian*
*No 39, 24-30 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 22 Sep) pp 4-5*

[Interview with Colonel General M. Gareyev, deputy chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent V. Voytenko: "The Armed Forces in the Conditions of Glasnost"; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Democratization, glasnost—to what extent do these processes affect a traditionally "closed" (for obvious reasons) organization like the USSR Defense Ministry? Or is the specific nature of the activity of military people incompatible with these concepts in general?

Colonel General M. Gareyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, answers questions put by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent V. Voytenko.

[Voytenko] Restructuring is taking place in all components of the state mechanism. What form does restructuring take in the Defense Ministry, what are its specific features, what specifically is being restructured, and how?

[Gareyev] Democratization, the reform of the political system, the struggle against bureaucracy, the improvement of ethnic relations, glasnost, and legal reform—all this is taking place in the Armed Forces too, taking account, naturally, of the peculiar nature of military service. As M.S. Gorbachev has stressed, the most important thing is that the efficiency of defense building at the present stage should be ensured primarily in terms of qualitative parameters, both as regards hardware and military science and as regards Armed Forces personnel. Defense building should guarantee the reliable security of the Soviet state and its allies, and should be carried out in strict accordance with our defensive doctrine.

Many complex new problems are arising in all sectors of the Armed Forces' activity. The fundamental question is whether the military threat to us from the imperialist states is real. Some press organs are beginning to call into question the existence of that threat and the subsequent need for defensive measures, the defense of the fatherland. Our people and all Armed Forces personnel are profoundly and sincerely committed to the ideas of peace and the prevention of war. But the harsh reality is that along with positive changes in the international situation, the imperialist states' military preparations must also be reckoned with.

Therefore the active struggle for peace and the readiness to rebuff an aggressor must remain organically linked. It is desirable for our entire public to have the correct stance on this issue and help to prepare worthy defenders of their motherland.

In present-day conditions, on the one hand, war is not a fatal inevitability, it can be prevented; but on the other, the real threat of war still exists. Understanding the significance of military duty is becoming increasingly complex, and sometimes people deliberately make it more so. In these conditions the entire system of the military-patriotic, political, and military education of people approaching the draft and of servicemen should be convincing and well-argued, to the highest degree. A higher standard of officer training and combat training of troops and naval forces is also necessary.

A higher standard of military art and combat skill for all personnel—that is an inexhaustible means of further enhancing the combat capability of the Army and Navy, at virtually no additional material cost. This is where we propose to place the main emphasis, without forgetting for a moment that massive professional armies stand against us.

The thrust of the operational and combat training of troops and forces has changed. The main form of combat operations in rebuffing aggression at the beginning of a war, if war is imposed on us, will be defensive fighting and operations. The troops and fleets are devoting particular attention to improving organization, maintaining firm regulation order, and strengthening military discipline.

The defensive nature of military doctrine and the main emphasis on qualitative parameters in the development and training of the Armed Forces require us, on the one hand, to ensure reliable defense in light of the nature of the military threat, and on the other hand, to carry out defense measures within the limits of strict sufficiency, not spurring on the arms race, but on the contrary, doing everything possible to restrain it. Given a military doctrine that is defensive in nature, higher demands are made on combat readiness, since, as historical experience shows, an aggressor preparing for aggression carries out all his preparatory measures for attack beforehand and in secret, while the defensive side is obliged to count on retaliatory actions and must always be ready to rebuff aggression.

[Voytenko] The setting up of an information department under the USSR Council of Ministers was announced in the press recently. What organizational form does the principle of glasnost take at the Defense Ministry?

[Gareyev] The life and activity of the Army and Navy have begun to be more widely covered in the press. In the interest of extending glasnost, press conferences by leading workers at the Defense Ministry and appearances by them before Soviet and foreign journalists have become increasingly widespread recently.

Our military press has performed remarkably in this respect. A wide spectrum of issues concerning all aspects of the troops' life and activity, the development of military theory and practice, Soviet military doctrine, and the technical equipment of the USSR Armed Forces is raised in the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the newspapers of military districts and fleets, and the military journals. Practically all categories of servicemen take part in discussing these issues in the pages of the press. The army press now boldly exposes shortcomings and makes unbiased criticism of Armed Forces officials who commit errors in their service. All this benefits the cause of restructuring the Armed Forces.

At the same time instances of unobjective coverage of individual aspects of the activity of the troops and fleets, a biased approach to individual cases, and distorted interpretations of them do not help to improve the state of affairs in the troops and fleets.

[Voytenko] In the military sphere, there has to be a limit to openness, to provide for keeping secret particular aspects of work, documentary materials, and organizational structures. How is a sensible delimitation being drawn up that will lead us away from excessive secrecy, which undermines trust, but at the same time will not affect the security of our state?

[Gareyev] The Defense Ministry, by virtue of the specific nature of the tasks it resolves, has stricter restrictions than other departments on reporting, in the open press or on radio and television, that which relates to the defense capability and security of our state and the Warsaw Pact. The need for this has been confirmed by the experience of past years. Therefore the importance of vigilance persists, especially since the thrust of the activity of the capitalist countries' intelligence apparatus is obvious.

At the same time, guided by the CPSU's demands for the expansion of glasnost and in light of mutual accords with the United States and NATO, restrictions have been partially lifted in the USSR Armed Forces on various kinds of military information concerning the fighting strength, numbers, and technical equipment of troops and naval forces. Many censorship restrictions on tactics and certain types of military hardware have been lifted. The developing process of glasnost has opened up many aspects of the USSR Armed Forces' activity, which makes it possible to acquaint our public more fully with its orientation, and in international terms helps to increase trust and the prestige of Soviet domestic and foreign policy and to establish constructive dialogue between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO at various levels, including the military leadership. If the NATO countries agree to the exchange of information on the numerical strength of the armed forces, this will make it possible to cover this side of the matter more widely in the press too.

As confidence-building measures are widened, questions of further lifting secrecy in the activity of various military departments and making wider information available on the Soviet Armed Forces will be examined. But this process has its limits, because much information that constitutes state and military secrets cannot be unilaterally revealed, in the interests of ensuring the country's reliable defense capability. Everyone should understand that because virtually every country of the world preserves and protects its state secrets, and especially military secrets, to a greater or lesser degree. Not only problems of defense sufficiency, but also information in the defense sphere is reciprocal in nature and depend on a general improvement in the international situation.

[Voytenko] How has the principle of glasnost already manifested itself; what documents have been published and which are about to be made public?

[Gareyev] The principle of glasnost is manifested in the publication of information that was formerly closed completely, even to specialized publications. Information on the quantitative and qualitative makeup of the Soviet strategic nuclear forces has been published, all our

nuclear tests are reported promptly, and the exchange of military delegations, the inviting of foreign military observers to exercises, and visits by representatives of the Western mass media and our own media to garrisons and specialized facilities of our Armed Forces are becoming increasingly widespread practices. Figures on our losses in Afghanistan have been made available to the world public. The press, radio, and television report on the preparation and conduct of large-scale exercises on the territory of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries and on the launches of satellites and manned spacecraft. Restrictions have been lifted on the publication in the open press of information on work in connection with the drafting of young recruits into the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy, the way personnel carry out their military service, the nature of patrol and combat duties, and various other kinds of information that were not formerly made public. The participation of the Armed Forces in combating natural disasters, clearing up after accidents, and building national economic projects is being publicized more widely.

There is wider coverage of phenomena of a negative nature connected with service in the Armed Forces. It is becoming the practice for prominent military leaders to take part in open debates about the building and activity of the Armed Forces.

The possibility is being examined of further releasing some of the archive materials on the Great Patriotic War, including documents on the actual events of its initial period, as well as information on the Soviet-Finnish war, the combat operations at Lake Khasan and the Halhin-Gol River, the liberation campaigns of 1939-1940, and other events. The latest issue of the VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL publishes Order No 270 of the Red Army Supreme High Command, and certain other documents which have hitherto been closed will be made public. After a careful study of archive documents, it is proposed to publish data on military losses in the period of the Great Patriotic War.

[Voytenko] Another question, this time on concrete military matters. Many readers ask: Why are the NATO countries not reacting very energetically to our proposals put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in the Polish Sejm? What conditions are they putting forward? Are they trying to obtain advantages at our expense?

[Gareyev] The new Soviet initiatives evoked a contradictory reaction in Western countries. There were approving reactions, but the majority were negative. This testifies to the existence within NATO of influential forces that have no interest in advancing the entire disarmament process or substantially lowering the level of military confrontation between the two mightiest military-political groupings.

The greatest objections are prompted by our approach to reducing dual-purpose systems, first and foremost tactical assault aircraft, the exchange of data on armed forces and armaments, and the elimination of the asymmetry between the joint armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and the creation of zones with a reduced level of arms.

The majority of NATO countries were also negative about our proposal to remove analogous Warsaw Pact systems from forward basing sites in Eastern Europe if NATO agrees not to site its 72 F-16 fighter-bombers in Italy—those that are presently in Spain. Various objections are put forward, but they all boil down to the same thing: NATO has absolutely no desire to give up those arms in which it has superiority.

The 2 March 1988 Brussels statement of the NATO countries, that NATO policy document, said that the Warsaw Pact "creates a direct threat to security" and that therefore the NATO countries must continue to build up armaments and demand "reductions on the part of the East that are asymmetrical in the highest degree." Here they overplay a certain superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries in tanks or artillery, but do not take into account that NATO has superiority over the Warsaw Pact to the tune of nearly 1,500 combat (mainly assault) aircraft, 100 percent superiority in combat helicopters, and 150-200 percent superiority in naval forces.

The same document goes on to say: "...We hope to see Europe united and whole on the basis of Western values and ideals backed up by military strength." But all this is contrary to the pledges adopted by the states at the CSCE and enshrined in its Final Act. And most important, this position is futile.